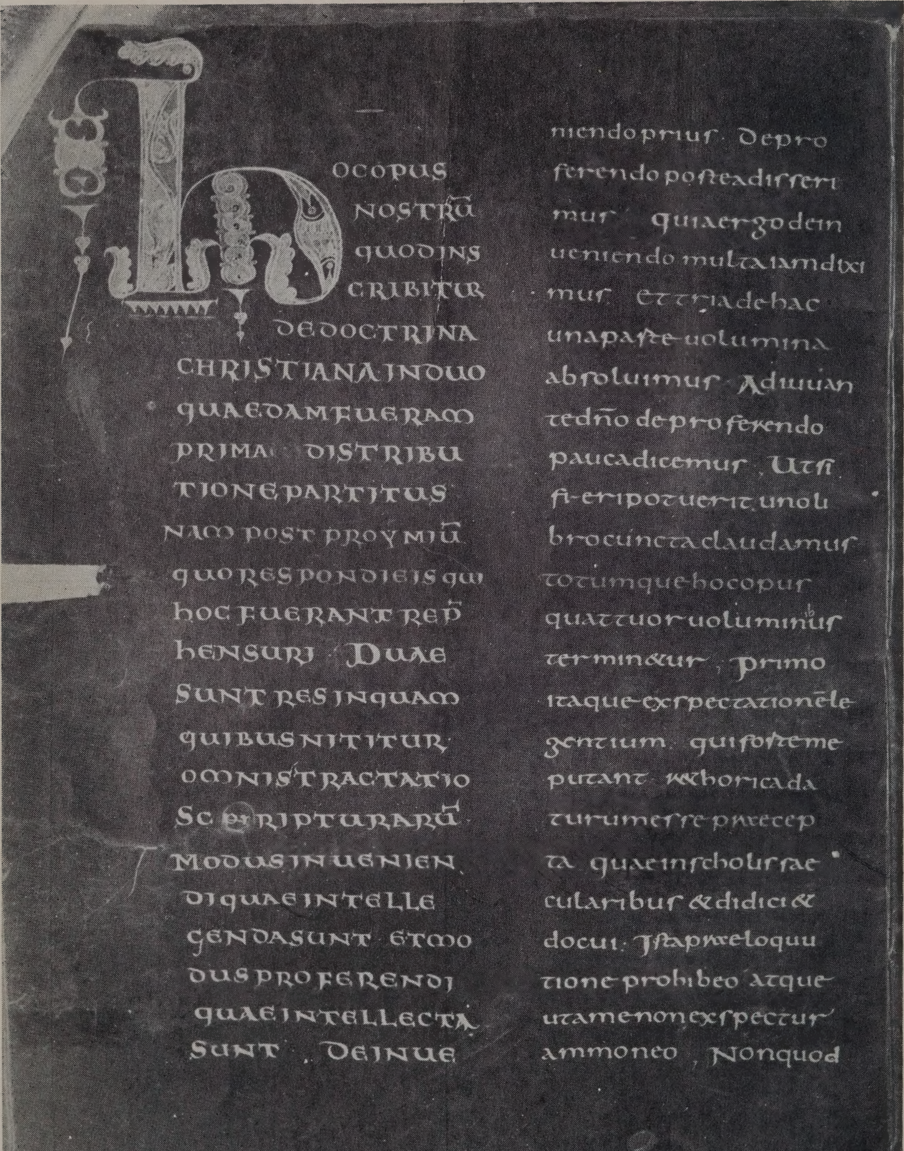

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PATRISTIC STUDIES
VOL. XXIII.

S. AVRELI AVGVSTINI
HIPPONIENSIS EPISCOPI
DE
DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA
LIBER QVARTVS

A Commentary, with a Revised Text, Introduction, and Translation

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF LETTERS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1930

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Habemus enim iam quosdam spumeos in sermone, sed in fide sanos. non itaque desperandum est, etiam hoc in isto, quamuis sit tolerabile, si permanserit, posse tamen expurgari et temperari, atque ad integrum et solidum uel perduci, uel reuocari modum: praesertim quia iuuenis esse perhibetur, ut quod minus habet peritia, suppleat diligentia; et quod cruditas loquacitatis eructat, aetatis maturitas decoquat. illud est molestum et periculosum uel perniciosum, si cum laudatur eloquentia, persuadeatur insipientia, et in pretioso poculo bibatur pestifera potio.

S. AVGVSTINI, *De Anima* 1, 3, 3.

PREFACE

As the first manual of Christian rhetoric, the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana* has from the very beginning attracted the attention of scholars. It has seen many editions, frequent translations, and has in several monographs been more or less carefully analysed. Up to this time, however, it has not been subjected to a unified critical, linguistic, and historical investigation. The present study has been undertaken with the view to answering this need. A commentary, revised text, and translation are here presented, with an introduction in elucidation and summary of some of the more important problems of the book. It is hoped that such a treatment may serve to systematize the study of the different phases of this treatise, and may lead to a conclusive estimate of its value in whole and in part.

The Commentary here presented is on the one hand an investigation of Augustine's rhetorical theory, and on the other a study of his own language and style. Analysis of the matter of the fourth book reveals the rare mental grasp of Augustine. The author views his subject broadly and simply as a whole, but at the same time follows it through all the ramifications of its smallest details with perfect understanding of the relation of part to part, and of part to whole. A careful study has been made of Augustine's rhetorical sources, and rather full quotations have been given from the same, in hope that the comparison of classical standards and those put forward by Augustine may result in a fuller appreciation of the value of his theory. As a systematic summary of the similarities between the two, a table of classical and Christian rhetorical parallels has been drawn up in the Introduction. *De Arte Rhetorica,* included by some editors among the works of St. Augustine, but now considered by most scholars as spurious, has not been regarded in the present study. Its differences from *De Doctrina Christiana* have been shown [1] to be sufficient proof that these two treatises were not written by the same pen. *De Dialectica,* on the other hand, principally because of its agreement in theory with the present book, has been treated in these pages as Augustine's own.

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[1] Zurek 109.

On the side of the writer's language and style, the vocabulary and syntax of the fourth book have been studied for their deviation from classical standards. All words rare, or not occurring, or occurring with a different meaning in classical Latin have been noted, as have such syntactical usages not common to classical prose. Certain ordinary ecclesiastical terms have been omitted, however, such as occur frequently in all Late writers, and which have been treated adequately elsewhere in the Patristic Series, and in other monographs on ecclesiastical Latin, e. g. *Trinitas, Spiritus, Prouidentia, propheta, angelus, ecclesia, ecclesiasticus, apostolus, apostolicus, christianus, euangelium, epistola, canon, canonicus, saeculum, saecularis, fides* (= religion), *fideles, mundus, persecutio, mysteria, sermo, sanctus, gentes, gentilis, episcopus, presbyter.* Syntactical characteristics common to all Late Latin, when they have occurred, have likewise merely been noted, without citation of detailed references. The terms used throughout the Patristic Series to designate the various periods of Latinity have also been adopted here: Early, *i. e.* pre-Ciceronian Latin; Class., *i. e.* the prose of the Golden Age; Silver, *i. e.* post-Augustan writers through Suetonius; Late, *i. e.* Latin from Apuleius on. For the common lexica and grammars the usual abbreviations have been employed. These are indicated after the respective works in the bibliography. Reference to the bibliography is made by author and page only. A summary of the details of the vocabulary and syntax has not been deemed necessary in the Introduction. Information in regard to linguistic peculiarities can readily be found in the Commentary, by referring to the indices. The rhetorical phase of this treatise, on the other hand, has received only scant attention in the notes, but is treated as a whole in the Introduction. The interpretation follows Norden's, and Polheim's analysis of fourth century prose. The bibliography here presented has been restricted to those works actually found useful in the preparation of this monograph. Works of Augustine other than those on rhetoric are not cited in the bibliography. Where they have been used, the references in the Commentary have been made to the *Patrologia Latina*, and to the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* of the Vienna Academy.

The text presented is a revision of the Benedictine edition of *De Doctrina Christiana* as it is printed in volume 34 of Migne's *Patrologia Latina.* This revision has been based on the collation of nine MSS. of the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, details in regard to which are given in the Introduction. The Introduction, furthermore, takes up the problems involved in the following points: date of the treatise, sources, Biblical quotations, style, influence. The lengthy Scriptural quotations used by Augustine as models of style have been compared with the Vulgate and the Old Version, *i. e.* the composite text of the pre-Hieronymian Latin Bible, as presented by Sabatier. Though the variant readings have been individually handled in the critical apparatus, the selections in full are given in parallel columns in the Introduction, in order to afford a more graphic comparison between Augustine's text and the Bible versions current in the fourth and fifth centuries. Accuracy and a preservation of the distinctive flavor of Augustine's style have been the prncipal aims in the translation. For this reason elegance of diction and the use of the modern idiom have in some passages been sacrificed, where a faithful interpretation of the original has necessitated language quaint to our modern ears in order to approximate Augustine's stylistic individuality.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Head of the Department of Latin and Greek, for his untiring interest and assistance in this study, and for the inspiration he has afforded it by his stimulating direction and criticism. To Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, Instructor in Latin and Greek, I am also deeply indebted, especially for his careful study and criticism of the manuscript, and for the generous help and suggestions which I have received from him in every part of this work. I take this opportunity also of thanking the Reverend Adolphe A. Vaschalde, Professor of Semitic Languages, for reading the manuscript. To the Superiors of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, who have made this study possible, it is offered in grateful appreciation.

Sister THÉRÈSE, S. N. D.

Trinity College,
March 25, 1930.

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I. Principal Editions of *De Doctrina Christiana*.

Editio princeps, by John Mentelinus (Strasbourg, c. 1465). This edition of the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana* seems to have been the first printed edition of any of St. Augustine's works. *De Doctrina Christiana* appeared thereafter in the great editions of Augustine's collected works, and in various separate editions. The principal general editions are:

Editio Amerbachiana, Basle, 1506.

Editio Erasmiana, a revision of the Amerbach edition, made by Desiderius Erasmus (Basle, 1528-29). *De Doctrina Christiana* appeared in vol. 3. In the reprint made at Venice in 1545, it appeared in Vol. 1.

Editio Louaniensis, by the Theologians of Louvain (Antwerp, 1577).

Editio Parisina, by the Benedictines of St. Maur, edited by J. Blampin and P. Coustant (Paris, 1679-1700). *De Doctrina Christiana* appeared in Vol. 3 (Paris, 1680). Of the later Benedictine reprints, the principal ones are by Gaume, Paris, 1836-39 (*De Doctrina Christiana*, in Vol. 3), and by J. P. Migne, *PL.*, Vols. 32-47 (Paris 1845-49). This Migne edition was frequently reprinted, unfortunately with change of pagination. In the latest reprint (Paris, 1887), *De Doctrina Christiana* is to be found in Vol. 34.

Separate editions[1] of *De Doctrina Christiana* appeared in the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. The principal separate Louvain reprints are those of Antwerp (1601), Wittenberg (1634), Helmstadt by George Calixtus (1629, 1655). In the 19th century C. H. Bruder (Leipzig 1836, 1865) brought out a separate reprint, made from the Benedictine Edition.

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[1] Cf. Schoenemann, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum*, II, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70, 227-234.

[2] For early translations (16th, 17th, 18th centuries), cf. Schoenemann, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum*, II, 234-5.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. Text.

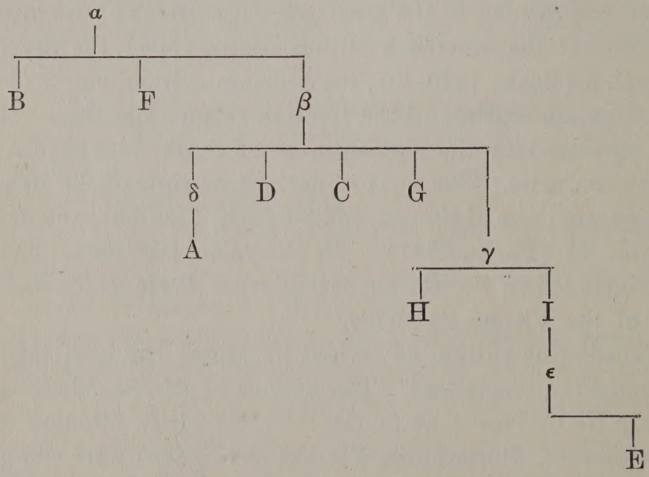
The first of St. Augustine's works to be printed seems to have been the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana.* This was published about 1465 at Strasbourg by one John Mentelinus. The treatise as a whole was printed at Venice in 1483 by Octavianus Scotus in an edition of Augustine's shorter works. It again appeared in an edition of the collected works, published in 1489 and 1491 at Strasbourg by Martin Flach. In the succeeding centuries, *De Doctrina Christiana* was printed in the great general editions of Augustine's collected works: the Amerbach edition (Basle, 1506), the Erasmian edition, vol. 3 (Basle, 1528-29), the Louvain edition, vol. 3 (Paris, 1680). Separate reprints of the treatise, taken from these various editions, appeared in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The most important reprints of the Benedictine edition are those of Gaume, vol. 3 (Paris, 1836-39), and of J. P. Migne, vol. 34 (Paris, 1887). *De Doctrina Christiana* has not yet been included in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* of the Vienna Academy.

The Benedictine edition as revised by Migne has been taken as the basis of the present text. The history of the Benedictine text as given in its preface is as follows: Thirty MSS. (Codices Vaticani, Corbeienses, Floriacensis, Vindocinensis, etc.) were compared with the most important of the preceding editions, *i. e.* with the editions of J. Badius Ascensius (Paris, 1502), John Amerbach (Basle, 1506), Desiderius Erasmus (Basle, 1528), the Theologians of Louvain (Antwerp, 1576). In his reprint of the Benedictine edition, Migne further compared a later reprint (1586) of the Louvain edition, and a still later Louvain reprint, edited by George Calixtus in 1655.

For the present text, nine MSS. have been collated from photostatic copies procured by the courtesy of Jean Malye of the Association Guillaume Budé. These are:

	Sigla
1. From the Bibliothèque Nationale:	
Par. lat. N. A. 1595 (9th cent.)	B
Par. lat. 1938 (10th cent.)	C
Par. lat. 2704 (10th cent.)	D
Par. lat. 1909 (14th cent.)	E
2. From the Vatican Library:	
Urb. lat. 67 (12th cent.)	A
Palat. lat. 188 (9th-10th cent.)	F
Palat. lat. 189 (10th cent.)	G
Palat. lat. 190 (13th cent.)	H
Vat. lat. 657 (13th cent.)	I

The relation between these MSS. may be represented as follows:



B has many emendations and variations not found in the other MSS. F, though it, too, shows frequent corrections in the form of words written over words, is in its variants more often in agreement with D, C, G, and at times with the remaining MSS., than is B. In chapter 27, after *sicut scriptum est,* it contains the quotation from Matt. 23, 2-3, *Scribae et Pharisaei . . . dicunt enim et non faciunt,* as do C, G, H, I, E. B does not contain this quotation. D is less carefully written than many of the other MSS.; it contains corrections within the text, but in many of its variants it agrees with F and B. C has some marginal corrections, and many headings and notes in the margin, amounting at times practically to an outline of the matter of the text. G contains fewest variant readings, though in these it shows relation to H and I, which themselves are closely similar, while E resembles I in many of its variants. A has frequent mistakes, and many variations, and the omission of a long quotation from Amos (*transite in Chalanne* (16) . . . *domum Israel* (17)) in chapter 7. It seems to be related to both D and C.

These MSS. have been selected and used with a view merely to improving the Migne text, and particularly to detecting any misprints, especially those of a rather subtle nature. The intention has not been to make a definitive critical text such as we must still expect from the editors of the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. It is hoped, however, that the critical material here presented will in some measure facilitate the making of such a text.

2. Date and Occasion.

An interval of some years occurred between the composition of the first and the last parts of *De Doctrina Christiana*. In Retractations 2, 4, 1, Augustine gives the following information in regard to this matter: "Libris de doctrina christiana, cum imperfectos comperissem, perficere malui quam eis sic relictis ad alia retractanda transire. compleui ergo tertium, . . . addidi etiam nouissimum librum et quattuor libris opus illud impleui." That the first part was written some time shortly after 396, the date of Augustine's consecration as bishop, is evident from the place where *De Doctrina Christiana* is discussed in the order of the author's works in the Retractions. But *Contra Faustum* 22, 91, which is dated about 400 A. D., refers to it as having been written some time before its own date. Augustine there says in explaining a certain Scriptural passage: "Quid praefigurauerit, iam in quibusdam libris, quos de doctrina christiana praenotaui, quantum mihi tunc ocurrit, me recolo posuisse." *De Doctrina Christiana* itself in 2, 40, 61 fixes the date even more definitely. St. Ambrose is there referred to as being still alive. This means that the book was written at a period before April 4, 397, the date of Ambrose's death. The early months of the year 397 A. D., therefore are the accepted date of the first three books.

Book IV followed after the lapse of some years. A. D. 426-427 seems the most probable date, since, as the author himself states in chapter 24, 53, his trip to Caesarea Mauritania occurred some eight years before its composition, and the date of this trip, according to several testimonies, is 418 A. D.[1]

Though Augustine's writings after his conversion in 386 A. D. were largely of a polemical and theological nature, it is not surprising that he turned aside in 397, and the years following, to undertake a work aiming to fit the Christian orator for his important duty of inculcating the truths of religion. Augustine himself, particularly after his consecration, was a zealous preacher. Often he spent his efforts in the pulpit for five successive days in the week. He recognized the importance of Christian teaching, and he saw that it needed all the art and training of secular speaking. He therefore set himself the task of drawing up explicit directions in regard to Scriptural interpretation, and proper style and delivery, which would enable the clergy in matter of technique, to stand on equal grounds with secular orators. Style, at first thought, seems a matter of trivial importance for the consideration of one of Augustine's station; but, as he himself says in *De Doctrina Christiana,* to him nothing was small where there was question of the service of God. Moreover, there was especial need in his day for a sane and sound formulation of stylistic theory, which would reclaim rhetoric from the odium of Sophistic excess in doctrine and practice. To show the Christian orator the need of style, and to point out its proper use was, then, the purpose of the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana.* Augustine's doctrine is the fruit of wide experience and of deep, sound thought. For full thirty-five years he lived out its teaching, in practice. His sermons are a proof of the utility of the *doctrina sana* set forth in *De Doctrina Christiana.*

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[1] Cf. Commentary, 24, 53.

3. Analysis of *De Doctrina Christiana.*

De Doctrina Christiana is a compendium of Biblical hermeneutics, supplemented by an exposition of Christian rhetoric; it is a guide to the understanding and interpretation of Holy Scripture, and to the proper explanation of the Sacred Books in homiletic. In the opening lines of Book I the main division of the work is given. Interpretation of Scripture depends on two things: the discovery of the proper meaning of the Holy Books, and the expression of that meaning, once discovered. The first three books deal with the understanding of the proper *meaning* of the Scriptures, and make up historically the first general treatise of exegesis; the fourth, explaining *how* the Scriptures should be unfolded, is a hand-book of Christian rhetoric.

Considering realities, and the signs of realities—particularly words—as the object of knowledge, Book I, analyzing the first of these, presents a broad survey of the divine economy. The conclusion reached is that love of God and its companion virtues, faith and hope, must be the norm for the perfect interpretation of Scripture. Book II takes up conventional signs, *i. e.* words. Difficulties and obscurities in the Holy Books come chiefly from unknown and ambiguous words. The light of the Holy Spirit, and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost are, here, of first importance. As for human sciences, Greek and Hebrew, among languages, and all the more important liberal arts and sciences are immediately necessary for a proper understanding of strange words and figurative language. Book III deals with ambiguities, direct and figurative. Comparison of the various translations of Holy Scripture with one another and with the original is the principal means of clearing up direct ambiguities, *i. e.* those of punctuation, pronunciation, and meaning. As for ambiguities through figures, knowledge of the common figures of speech is helpful, but that which is all-important is the testing of such passages by their adherence to the law of Love.

The matter of Book IV can best be summarized by a tabular outline. This will serve to bring out the unity of the treatise, and will at once make clear the two characteristics which most distinguish it: its classical basis, and its Christian spirit.

Book IV.

I. Introduction.

A. Aim, not to set forth rules of rhetoric. Chap. 1
B. Usefulness of rhetorical skill to the Christian teacher. 2
C. Time when rules should be acquired. Method. 3

II. Christian rhetoric: its basis and ideals.

CLASSICAL PRECEPTS.	CHRISTIAN ADAPTATION.	
	A. Objects of the Christian teacher. 1. To instruct to righteousness. 2. To conciliate to righteousness. 3. To stir to righteousness.	4
	B. Essential qualities.	
	1. Comparative value of wisdom and eloquence.	5, 6
	Examples of eloquence united to wisdom in Holy Scripture: Paul and Amos.	7
	a. Obscurity of Scripture, not to be imitated.	8
	b. Time and place when obscure passages may be treated.	9
	2. Necessity of clearness.	10
	3. Necessity of charm.	11
C. *Officia oratoris,* according to Cicero. 1. *Docere.* 2. *Delectare.* 3. *Flectere.*		12, 13, 14
	D. Manner in which the Christian is to adapt these *officia*.	
	1. Dependence on God through prayer, first requisite.	15
	2. Rhetorical principles, a secondary help.	16

CLASSICAL PRECEPTS.	CHRISTIAN ADAPTATION.	
E. The three styles as the accomplishment of the three *officia* (Cicero).		17
1. *Submissum, ad docendum.*		
2. *Temperatum, ad delectandum.*		
3. *Grande, ad flectendum.*		
	F. The Christian orator's use of the three styles.	
	1. The *officia,* the norm for the use of the styles, even though all subject-matter of the Christian is *materia*	18
	grandis.	19
	Illustration of the use of the three styles:	
	a. From Scripture: St. Paul.	20
	b. From the Fathers: SS. Cyprian and Ambrose.	21
	2. Connection between the styles.	
	a. Necessity of varying diction.	22
	b. Manner in which the styles are to be mingled.	23
	c. Effects of the three.	24
	d. The Christian's use of the moderate style.	25
	e. Accomplishment of the three *officia* in each style separately.	26
	G. Moral requisites.	
	1. The life of the orator, his best asset.	27
	2. The Christian's aim: truth before expression.	28
	Legitimacy of using a sermon written by another.	29
	3. Prayer, the Alpha and Omega of the Christian's preparation.	30

III. Conclusion.

A. Excuse for the length of the work. 31

B. Thanksgiving for the accomplishment of the task.

4. SOURCES AND PARALLELS.

Cicero is the acknowledged basis of the fourth book. St. Augustine recognized the falsity and instability of the rhetoric of his time, dominated as it was by Sophistic ideals, and for the foundation of his Christian rhetoric chose to turn back four and a half centuries to the *doctrina sana* formulated in *De Oratore* and *Orator*. These two works he found all-sufficient to guide him in the expression of a worthy theory; and in reality they do crystallize the best thought on Roman oratory, and all that is most vital and lasting in Greek rhetoric. In his acknowledgment of Cicero, therefore, Augustine manifests his allegiance to all classical authorities, and with Cicero as his intermediary, he links the fifth century A. D. even with the fifth century B. C. The following comparison of classical and Christian views will be found helpful in determining the extent of the indebtedness of *De Doctrina Christiana* to the classics.

CLASSICS	ST. AUGUSTINE
I. Division of Rhetoric	
Arist. Rhet. 3, 1, 1403 b.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 1, 1.
II. Value of Rhetoric in the orator's training	
A. *Praecepta*	
De Inuent. 1, 5, 7.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 2, 3;
De Orat. 1, 32, 145-6;	2, 36, 54; 4, 3, 4.
3, 36, 146; 3, 31, 125.	
B. *Imitatio* vs. *praecepta*	
De Orat. 1, 33, 150;	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 3, 4;
2, 23, 96; 2, 22, 90.	4, 3, 5; 4, 5, 8.
C. Eloquence without rules	
De Orat. 1, 20, 91;	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 3, 4;
1, 32, 146.	4, 3, 5; 4, 7, 21; 2, 36, 54.
Quint. 2, 17, 9.	
III. Traditional qualities of the parts of a speech	
Ad Her. 1, 4, 6; 1, 9, 14;	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 2, 3.
1, 10, 18; 2, 30, 47-50.	

CLASSICS	ST. AUGUSTINE
IV. Essential qualities of an orator	
A. *Sapientia* vs. *eloquentia*	
De Orat. 1, 12, 50; 1, 12, 53; 1, 6, 20; 1, 18, 83; 1, 20, 92; 3, 35, 142. De Inuent. 1, 1, 1.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 5, 7; 4, 28, 61.
B. *Elegantia, compositio, dignitas*	
Ad Her. 4, 12, 17. Orat. 23, 79; 24, 80. De Orat. 3, 11, 40; 3, 13, 48 ff.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 10, 24.
C. Clearness	
Arist. Rhet. 3, 5, 1407 b; 3, 2, 1404 b. De Orat. 3, 10, 37-39; 3, 14, 52. Orat. 23, 77 ff. Quint. 8, 2, 1; 8, 2, 22.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 8, 22; 4, 9, 23; 4, 10, 24.
Through Repetition	
Quint. 8, 2, 24.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 10, 25. De Catech. Rud. 13, 18.
D. Charm	
Arist. Rhet. 3, 1, 1404 a. De Orat. 3, 30, 121; 3, 31, 125; 3, 25, 97. Orat. 6, 20; 25, 83.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 10, 25; 4, 11, 26; 4, 12, 27; 4, 13, 29; 4, 14, 31.
E. Fittingness (τὸ πρέπον)	
Arist. Rhet. 3, 2, 1404 b. De Orat. 1, 32, 144; 1, 61, 260. Orat. 21, 70-3; 35, 123; 36, 124. Quint. 12, 10, 79-80.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 6, 9; 4, 7, 13; 4, 7, 17; 4, 7, 18; 4, 7, 19; 4, 7, 20; 4, 17, 34; 4, 20, 40; 4, 20, 42; 4, 28, 61.
V. *Officia oratoris*	
A. General	
Arist. Rhet. 1, 2, 1355 b; 1, 2, 1356 a. De Orat. 2, 27, 115; 2, 28, 121; 2, 77, 310. Brut. 49, 185. De Opt. Gen. 1, 3; 5, 16.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 4, 6; 4, 12, 27; 4, 17, 34.

CLASSICS	ST. AUGUSTINE
Officia as twofold	
Aris. Rhet. 1, 2, 1355 b.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 4, 6.
De Orat. 2, 77, 310; 2, 27, 120.	Contr. Cresc. 1, 13, 16.
Brut. 23, 89.	De Dial. 7.
B. Particular	
1. *Docere:* its purpose and importance	
Arist. Rhet. 3, 1, 1404 a.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 11, 26; 4, 12, 27; 4, 12, 28.
De Orat. 1, 53, 229; 2, 27, 115.	
2. *Delectare:* its need to *docere*	
Ad Her. 4, 11, 16.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 11, 26.
De Orat. 3, 11, 41.	
Orat. 25, 85; 33, 117.	
3. *Flectere:* the end of oratory	
Arist. Rhet. 1, 2, 1355 b; 1, 1, 1354 a.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 12, 27; 4, 12, 28; 4, 13, 29.
De Inuent. 1, 5, 6.	
De Orat. 1, 31, 138; 1, 49, 213; 1, 61, 260.	
VI. The Styles	
A. General	
1. Definition	
Ad Her. 4, 8, 11.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 17, 34; 4, 28, 61.
De Orat. 3, 45, 177; 3, 52, 199; 3, 55, 212.	
Orat. 29, 101; 21, 69.	
2. Variation of the styles	
a. Necessity	
Ad Her. 4, 11, 16.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 22, 51; 2, 36, 54.
Orat. 29, 103.	
Quint. 12, 10, 71; 12, 10, 67.	Contr. Cresc. 1, 16, 20.
	De Dial. 7.
b. Manner	
Orat. 35, 122; 36, 124; 36, 125.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 23, 52.
3. Union in one speech	
Ad Her. 4, 8, 11 ff.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 19, 38.

CLASSICS	ST. AUGUSTINE
B. Particular	
1. *Genus submissum*	
a. Qualities	
Ad Her. 4, 10, 14. Orat. 5, 20; 23, 76; 24, 79. Orat. 28, 98-9; 29, 102; 33, 116; 35, 122. Quint. 12, 10, 59.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 19, 38; 4, 20, 39; 4, 22, 51. De Doctr. Chris. 4, 23, 52; 4, 24, 54; 4, 25, 55; 4, 26, 56. Contr. Cresc. 1, 13, 16; 1, 16, 20. De Dial. 7.
b. Examples	
Ad Her. 4, 10, 14. Orat. 29, 102.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 19, 38; 4, 20, 39; 4, 21, 45; 4, 21, 46. Contr. Cresc. 1, 16, 20.
2. *Genus temperatum*	
a. Its two phases	
i. *Tertium quid*	
Ad Her. 4, 8, 11; 4, 9, 13. De Orat. 3, 52, 199; 3, 55, 212. Orat. 6, 21; 26, 91. Quint. 12, 10, 58.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 18, 35.
ii. *γένος ἀνθηρόν*	
Orat. 12, 38; 26, 91; 27, 96. Quint. 12, 10, 58; 12, 10, 60.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 40; 4, 20, 41.
b. Qualities	
Orat. 27, 96; 28, 98; 37, 128.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 19, 38; 4, 20, 40; 4, 20, 41; 4, 23, 52; 4, 24, 54; 4, 25, 55; 4, 26, 57.
c. Examples	
Ad Her. 4, 9, 13. Orat. 29, 102.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 19, 38; 4, 20, 40; 4, 21, 47; 4, 21, 48.
3. *Genus sublime*	
a. Qualities	
Plat. Phaedr. 271 d. Ad Her. 4, 8, 11. Orat. 5, 20; 28, 97; 28, 99; 37, 128; 39, 134. Quint. 12, 10, 61.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 42; 4, 22, 51; 4, 23, 52; 4, 24, 53; 4, 25, 55; 4, 26, 58.

Classics	St. Augustine
b. Examples	
Ad Her. 4, 8, 12. Orat. 29, 102.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 19, 38; 4, 20, 42; 4, 20, 43; 4, 20, 44; 4, 21, 49; 4, 21, 50.
VII. *Compositio*	
A. *Iunctura*	
1. *Membrum*	
Ad Her. 4, 19, 26. Orat. 66, 221-2. Quint. 9, 4, 123; 9, 4, 125.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 7, 11; 4, 7, 13. De Mus. 4, 17, 36.
2. *Caesum*	
Orat. 62, 211. Quint. 9, 4, 22. Aquila Rhet. 18.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 7, 11; 4, 7, 13.
3. *Ambitus*	
Orat. 61, 204. Quint. 9, 4, 124. Mart. Cap. 5, 527.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 7, 11; 4, 7, 13.
B. *Sonus*	
Orat. 49, 163.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 40.
C. *Numerus*	
a. Nature	
Orat. 20, 67; 49, 163; 53, 178; 55, 183; 70, 233.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 40; 4, 20, 41; 4, 26, 56.
b. Laws	
Orat. 58, 197.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 41.
c. *Clausulae*	
Quint. 9, 4, 61; 9, 4, 66.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 40; 4, 20, 41.
D. Importance of *pronuntiatio* to *compositio*	
Brut. 8, 34.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 7, 11; 4, 17, 18; 4, 7, 19; 4, 7, 20; 4, 7, 21.
VIII. *Figurae*	
A. *Figurae uerborum*	
Orat. 39, 135.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 43.

CLASSICS	ST. AUGUSTINE
a. *Climax*	
Ad Her. 4, 25, 34. Quint. 9, 3, 55.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 7, 11.
b. *Responsio*	
Orat. 40, 137. De Orat. 3, 54, 207.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 7, 13.
B. *Figurae sententiarum*	
Orat. 39, 136; 40, 137.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 42.
IX. Memory	
A. Of words	
De Orat. 2, 88, 359.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 10, 25; 4, 29, 62.
B. Of things	
De Orat. 2, 88, 359.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 39.
X. Moral Requisites	
A. *Vita bona*	
Arist. Rhet. 1, 2, 1356 a. De Orat. 2, 43, 182; 2, 20, 85. Quint. 12, 1, 1; 12, 1, 2-3; 12, 1, 29.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 27, 59; 4, 27, 60.
B. Self-diffidence	
De Orat. 1, 26, 119; 1, 26, 121.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 15, 32.
XI. Oratorical ideal, and its opposite	
A. The ideal	
De Orat. 1, 15, 64; 1, 8, 31; 2, 8, 34; 1, 46, 202. Orat. 2, 7-8.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 4, 6; 4, 28, 61.
B. Sophistic	
Arist. Rhet. 3, 5, 1407 a. De Orat. 1, 19, 87; 1, 20, 91. Orat. 19, 65; 69, 230 ff. Quint. 8, 2, 18.	De Doctr. Chris. 4, 5, 8; 4, 6, 10; 4, 6, 9; 4, 28, 61; 2, 31, 48. Contr. Cresc. 1, 2, 3; 1, 1, 2. Conf. 1, 18, 28.

5. Biblical Quotations.

Though it is generally accepted that after 400 A. D. St. Augustine regularly employed the Vulgate in his quotations from the Gospels, a study of his use of the Epistles in such long quotations as occur in *De Doctrine Christiana IV* does not admit of the same conclusion. The following pages present parallel readings of *De Doctrina Christiana,* the Vulgate, and the Old Latin Version for such Scriptural passages as are formally quoted in the fourth book.

Before taking up the consideration of the Epistles, a review of the other quotations will be helpful. In only one instance in this book is the biblical source explicitly stated. Amos 7, 14-15, in chapter 7, 15, is quoted from the Vulgate, as Augustine himself states, with the explanation that he rejects the Septuagint here because of its greater figurativeness, and its consequent obscurity. Such an acknowledgment is, of course, a valuable proof of Augustine's esteem for the work of his celebrated contemporary. This, he had already manifested by his use of the Vulgate Gospels in his critical work, *De Consensu Euangelistarum* (400 A. D.), and by his letter [1] praising the Revision, written to Jerome in 403. The same letter, however, gives evidence of Augustine's doubts as to the expediency of the great changes made in the Vulgate Old Testament, and expresses the desire that Jerome should rather make an exact translation from the Septuagint, since the different codices of the Latin text were at the time very numerous, and were open to suspicion as possibly at variance with the Greek. Augustine himself habitually used the Old Version in quoting from the Old Testament. In the fourth book, besides the quotation from Amos referred to above, the only other Old Testament quotation of any length is that from Jeremias 5, 30-31. This, as one would expect, agrees with the *Versio Antiqua* against the Vulgate. In regard to the other quotations, Psalm 15, 4 and Psalm 34, 18 follow the

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[1] Epist. 71.

Vulgate; the others differ from both the Vulgate and the Old Version, probably because quoted from memory, with the deviations usual in such cases. The same reason, doubtless, also accounts for the variants shown in the Gospel quotations which are found in this book. Of these, only Matthew 10, 19-20 agrees with the Old Version and the Vulgate.

The remaining quotations—by far the longest and the most important—are drawn from the Epistles of St. Paul. These, for the greater part, are set down as models of the various styles, though there are also a few short selections, scattered here and there, in illustration of minor points. A comparison of these with the Vulgate shows complete identity between the two in only three of the short quotations. In the longer passages the *De Doctrina Christiana* rendering is sometimes nearer to the Vulgate than to the *Versio Antiqua*, but nowhere are the two entirely identical, and in some places Augustine is in evident disagreement with Jerome's text, and in agreement with the Old Version. Moreover, in 1 Corinthians 1, 17, and 1 Corinthians 3, 7, where the Vulgate and the Old Version are identical, and in Romans 5, 3-5 and Romans 12, 1; 6-16, where they are practically identical, there are many variants in the *De Doctrina* rendering which have no authority in the Vulgate and Old Version.

From these facts several inferences suggest themselves, all more or less hypothetical, and therefore to be handled guardedly until further evidence is at hand. One conclusion, however, may be safely drawn, and that is that for these quotations Augustine did not make use of a Vulgate codex, though this would seem to have often been his custom for Gospel quotations after 400. The quotations here considered may be a mosaic of Vulgate and Old Version renderings, if one would see in their mingling of Old Version and Vulgate readings a meeting in Augustine's memory of the influence of the old and the new. However, the very number and length of these passages would rather seem to preclude the idea that they are drawn from memory. A memory which could be called on to quote accurately passage after passage of ten, twelve, or sixteen verses would be no common one. Moreover, these long quotations were consciously selected and put forward as models of *style.* It seems hardly probable that Augustine would forego the exactness desirable in such a case, when he could so readily secure it by the use of a reliable codex. This view receives added favor from the fact that where Augustine, in another of his works, *Contra Cresconium* (1, 16, 20), uses one of these quotations (2 Cor. 6, 4-10), he employs the identical rendering used in *De Doctrina Christiana.* This differs considerably from the Vulgate and the Old Version taken individually, and shows some variants without foundation in either the one or the other. If this rendering occurred but once, in *De Doctrina Christiana* or *Contra Cresconium,* one might concede that it was a composite of the Vulgate and the Old Version, resembling them and differing from them as Augustine's memory suggested the one or the other; but the fact that this same individual reading appears in two different treatises, its variants identical in each, would seem rather to point to the use of a common *written* source for both. If then Augustine did use an Old Latin codex for his Epistle quotations in the fourth book, what was it? Could it have been the *Itala* which received such unstinted praise in the second book of *De Doctrina Christiana?* Whatever it was, if it really was Augustine's source, it must have been held in high repute since in this treatise where style was the point under consideration it received preference to the Vulgate, which was otherwise so widely accepted by Augustine in his later years. The readings from the Vulgate and the *Versio Antiqua* which follow are taken from *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam,* edited by the Professors of St. Sulpice (Rome, Paris, 1927), and from Sabatier: *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae uersiones seu uetus Italica* (Paris, 1751). It should be noted that Sabatier acknowledges his indebtedness to *De Doctrina Christiana,* in his Old Version reconstruction of the following passages: Luc. 16, 10; Rom. 5, 3-5; *ibid.* 8, 28-39; *ibid.* 12, 1; 6-16; *ibid.* 13, 6-8; 12-14; 1 Cor. 6, 1-9; *ibid.* 6, 2-11; *ibid.* 11, 16-31; Gal. 3, 15-22; *ibid.* 4, 10-20; *ibid.* 4, 21-26; 1 Tim. 4, 12; *ibid.* 5, 1-2; 2 Tim. 2, 15; *ibid.* 3, 14; *ibid.* 4, 2; Tit. 1, 9; *ibid.* 2, 1-2.

De Doctr. Chris.	Vulgata	Versio Antiqua
Psal. 15, 4 non congregabo conuenticula eorum de sanguinibus (10, 24).	non congregabo conuenticula eorum de sanguinibus.	non congregabo conuenticula eorum in sanguinibus.
Psal. 34, 18 in populo graui laudabo te (14, 31).	in populo graui laudabo te.	in populo graui laudabo te.
Psal. 92, 5 testimonia tua credita facta sunt ualde (26, 56).	testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.	testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt nimis.
Psal. 142, 10 doce me facere uoluntatem tuam, quoniam tu es Deus meus (16, 33).	doce me facere uoluntatem tuam, quia Deus meus es tu.	doce me facere uoluntatem tuam, quia tu Deus meus es.
Sap. 6, 26 multitudo sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum (5, 8).	multitudo autem sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum.	multitudo autem sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum.
Ier. 5, 30-31 pauor et horrenda facta sunt super terram; prophetae prophetabant iniqua et sacerdotes plausum dederunt manibus suis et plebs mea dilexit sic. et quid facietis in futurum? (14, 30).	stupor et mirabilia facta sunt in terra: prophetae prophetabant mendacium, et sacerdotes applaudebant manibus suis, et populus meus dilexit talia. quid igitur fiet in nouissimo eius?	pauor et horrenda facta super terram: prophetae prophetabunt iniqua, et sacerdotes plausum dederunt manibus suis: et plebs mea dilexit sic: et quid facietis in futurum?
Amos 6, 1-6 uae qui opulenti estis in Sion, et confiditis in monte Samariae, optimates capita populorum, ingredientes pompatice domum Israel! transite in Chalanne, et uidete, et ite inde in Emath magnam, et descendite in Geth Palaestinorum, et ad optima	uae qui opulenti estis in Sion, et confiditis in monte Samariae; optimates capita populorum, ingredientes pompatice domum Israel! transite in Chalane, et uidete, et ite inde in Emath magnam, et descendite in Geth Palaestinorum, et ad optima	uae qui despiciunt Sion, et confidunt in monte Samariae: uindemiarunt primitias gentium, et ingressi sunt sibi. domus Israel transite omnes, et uidete in Chalanem, et pertransite inde in Emath rabba: et descendite in Geth alienigenarum, op-

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quaeque regna horum, si latior terminus eorum termino uestro est. qui separati estis in diem malum et appropinquatis solio iniquitatis. qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lasciuitis in stratis uestris; qui comeditis agnum de grege, et uitulos de medio armenti; qui canitis ad uocem psalterii. sicut Dauid putauerunt se habere uasa cantici; bibentes in phialis uinum, et optimo unguento delibuti; et nihil patiebantur super contritione Ioseph (7, 16).	quaeque regna horum: si latior terminus eorum termino uestro est. qui separati estis in diem malum, et appropinquatis solio iniquitatis; qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lasciuitis in stratis uestris; qui comeditis agnum de grege, et uitulos de medio armenti; qui canitis ad uocem psalterii; sicut Dauid putauerunt se habere uasa cantici; bibentes uinum in phialis, et optimo unguento delibuti, et nihil patiebantur super contritione Ioseph.	timas ex omnibus regni his: si ampliores sun termini eorum termini uestris. qui uenitis i diem malum: appropinquatis et tangitis sabbata mendacia. qui dormitis in lectis eburneis et affluitis deliciis i stratis uestris: et comeditis haedos de gregibus, et lactentes uitulos de medio armentorum. qui concrepatis a uocem organorum: quasi stantia putauerunt et non quasi fugientia qui bibitis uinum desecatum, et primis unguentis ungimini: e nihil patiebamini supe contritione Ioseph.
Matt. 6, 8		
scit pater uester quid uobis necessarium sit, prius quam petatis ab eo (16, 33).	scit pater uester, quid opus sit uobis, antequam petatis eum.	scit enim pater uester quid uobis opus sit, antequam petatis ab eo.
Matt. 10, 19-20		
nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim uobis in illa hora quid loquamini: non enim uos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis (15, 32).	nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini: dabitur enim uobis in illa hora quid loquamini: non enim uos estis loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis.	nolite cogitare quomod aut quid loquamini dabitur enim uobis i illa hora, quid loquamini: non enim esti uos qui loquimini, se Spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis.
Matt. 12, 34		
hypocritae, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali? (29, 62).	progenies uiperarum, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali?	progenies uiperarum, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis mali?
Matt. 23, 2-3		
super cathedram Moysi	super cathedram Moysi	super cathedram Moy

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sederunt. . . quae dicunt, facite, quae autem faciunt, facere nolite. dicunt enim et non faciunt (27, 59; 29, 62).	sederunt scribae et pharisaei. omnia ergo quaecumque dixerunt uobis, seruate, et facite; secundum opera uero eorum nolite facere: dicunt enim, et non faciunt.	sederunt scribae, et pharisaei. omnia ergo quaecumque dixerunt uobis, seruate, et facite: secundum autem facta eorum nolite facere: dicunt enim, et ipsi non faciunt.
Luc. 16, 10 qui in minimo fidelis est, et in magno fidelis est (18, 35).	qui fidelis est in minimo, et in maiori fidelis est.	qui fidelis est in minimo, et in maius fidelis est.
Rom. 5, 3-5 gloriamur in tribulationibus, scientes quia tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem probationem, probatio autem spem, spes autem non confundit: quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis (7, 11).	gloriamur in tribulationibus, scientes quod tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem probationem, probatio uero spem. spes autem non confundit, quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.	gloriamur in tribulationibus: scientes quod tribulatio patientiam operatur: patientia autem probationem, probatio autem spem, spes autem non confundit: quia caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.
Rom. 8, 28-39 scimus, quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum uocati sunt. quoniam quos ante praesciuit, et praedestinauit conformes imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. quos autem praedestinauit, illos et uocauit; et quos uocauit, ipsos et iustificauit; quos autem iustificauit, illos et glorificauit. quid ergo dicemus ad haec? si Deus	scimus autem quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum uocati sunt sancti. nam quos praesciuit, et praedestinauit conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. quos autem praedestinauit, hos et uocauit; et quos uocauit, hos et iustificauit; quos autem iustificauit, illos et glorificauit. quid ergo dicemus ad haec? si Deus pro nobis, quis	scimus autem quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia procedunt in bonis, his qui secundum propositum uocati sunt. quia quos praescit, et praedestinauit conformes fieri imaginis Filii eius, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. quos autem praedestinauit, eos et uocauit: et quos uocauit, eos et iustificauit: quos autem iustificauit, illos et magnificauit. quid ergo dicemus aduersus haec: si Deus pro nobis, quis

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pro nobis, quis contra nos? qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum, quomodo non et cum illo omnia nobis donauit? quis accusabit aduersus electos Dei? Deus qui iustificat? quis est qui condemnet? Christus Iesus qui mortuus est, magis autem qui resurrexit, qui est in dextera Dei, qui et interpellat pro nobis? quis nos separabit a charitate Christi? tribulatio? an angustia? an persecutio? an fames? an nuditas? an periculum? an gladius? sicut scriptum est, 'quia propter te mortificamur tota die, aestimati sumus ut oues occisionis.' sed in his omnibus superuincimus per eum qui dilexit nos. certus sum enim quia neque mors, neque uita, neque angelus, neque principatus, neque praesentia, neque futura, neque uirtus, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro (20, 43).	contra nos? qui etiam proprio Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum, quomodo non etiam cum illo omnia nobis donauit? quis accusabit aduersus electos Dei? Deus, qui iustificat, quis est, qui condemnet? Christus Iesus, qui mortuus est, immo qui et resurrexit, qui est ad dexteram Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis. quis ergo nos separabit a charitate Christi? tribulatio? an angustia? an fames? an nuditas? an periculum? an persecutio? an gladius? (scriptum est: quia propter te mortificamur tota die; aestimati sumus sicut oues occisionis) sed in his omnibus superamus propter eum, qui dilexit nos. certus sum enim, quia neque mors, neque uita, neque angeli, neque principatus, neque uirtutes, neque instantia, neque futura, neque fortitudo, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.	contra nos? qui nec Filio suo pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum: quomodo non etiam cum illo omnia nobis donauit? quis aduersus excusauit electos Dei? Deus qui iustificat, quis condemnet? Christus, qui mortuus est, imo et resurrexit, qui et est ad dexteram Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis. quis nos separabit a caritate Christi? tribulatio? an angustia? an persecutio? an fames? an nuditas? an periculum? an gladius? (sicut scriptum est: quia propter te morti afficimur tota die: aestimati sumus ut oues occisionis.) sed in his omnibus superamus propter eum, qui dilexit nos. certus sum enim, quia neque mors, neque uita, neque angelus, neque potestas, neque initia, neque instantia, neque futura, neque uirtus, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare a caritate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.
Rom. 12, 1; 6-16		
obsecro autem uos, fratres, per miserationem	obsecro itaque uos, fratres, per misericordiam	obsecro itaque uos fratre per misericordiam Dei

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Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora uestra hostiam uiuam, sanctam, Deo placentem. . . . habentes dona diuersa secundum gratiam quae data est nobis; siue prophetiam, secundum regulam fidei; siue ministerium, in ministrando; siue qui docet, in doctrina; siue qui exhortatur, in exhortatione; qui tribuit, in simplicitate; qui praeest, in sollicitudine; qui miseretur, in hilaritate. dilecto sine simulatione; odio habentes malum, adhaerentes bono: charitate fraternitatis inuicem diligentes, honore mutuo praeuenientes, studio non pigri, spiritu feruentes, Domino seruientes, spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes, orationi instantes, necessariis sanctorum communicantes, hospitalitatem sectantes. benedicite persequentes uos; benedicite, et nolite maledicere. gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus; idipsum inuicem sentientes. non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes (20, 40).	Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora uestra hostiam uiuentem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium uestrum. . . . habentes autem donationes secundum gratiam, quae data est nobis, differentes; siue prophetiam secundum rationem fidei, sine ministerium in ministrando, siue qui docet in doctrina, qui exhortatur in exhortando, qui tribuit in simplicitate, qui praeest in sollicitudine, qui miseretur in hilaritate. dilectio sine simulatione: odientes malum, adhaerentes bono; charitate fraternitatis inuicem diligentes; honore inuicem praeuenientes; sollicitudine non pigri; spiritu feruentes; Domino seruientes; spe gaudentes; in tribulatione patientes; orationi instantes; necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes; hospitalitatem sectantes. benedicite persequentibus uos: benedicite, et nolite maledicere. gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus; idipsum inuicem sentientes; non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes.	ut exhibeatis corpora uestra hostiam uiuentem, sanctam, placentem Deo, rationabile obsequium uestrum. . . . habentes autem donationes secundum gratiam, quae data est nobis, differentes; siue prophetiam secundum rationem fidei, siue ministerium in ministrando, siue qui docet in doctrina, qui exhortatur in exhortando, qui tribuit in simplicitate, qui praeest in sollicitudine, qui miseretur in hilaritate. dilectio sine simulatione. odientes malum, adhaerentes bono: caritate fraternitatis inuicem benigni: honore inuicem praeuenientes: sollicitudine non pigri: spiritu feruentes: Domino seruientes: spe gaudentes: in tribulatione patientes: orationi instantes: necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes: hospitalitatem sectantes. benedicite et nolite maledicere: benedicite persequentibus uos. gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus: idipsum inuicem sentientes: non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes.
Rom. 13, 6-8; 12-14		
in hoc ipso perseuerantes, reddite omnibus debita:	in hoc ipsum seruientes. reddite ergo omnibus	in hoc ipsum seruientes. reddite ergo omnibus

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cui tributum, tributum; cui uectigal, uectigal; cui timorem, timorem; cui honorem, honorem. nemini quidquam debeatis, nisi ut inuicem diligatis. . . . nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquauit. abiciamus itaque opera tenebrarum, et induamus nos arma lucis: sicut in die honeste ambulemus; non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et aemulatione; sed induite Dominum Iesum Christum, et carnis prouidentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis (20, 40).	debita: cui tributum, tributum; cui uectigal, uectigal; cui timorem, timorem; cui honorem, honorem. nemini quidquam debeatis, nisi ut inuicem diligatis. . . . nox praecessit, dies autem appropinquauit. abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum, et induamur arma lucis. sicut in die honeste ambulemus, non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et aemulatione: sed induimini Dominum Iesum Christum, et carnis curam ne feceritis in desideriis.	debita: cui tributum, tributum: cui uectigal. uectigal: cui timorem, timorem: cui honorem, honorem. nemini quicquam debeatis, nisi ut inuicem diligatis. . . . nox processit, dies autem adpropriauit. abiciamus ergo facta tenebrarum, et induamur opera lucis. sicut in die honeste ambulemus: non comessationibus, et ebrietatibus, non cubilibus, et impudicitiis, non contentione, et aemulatione: sed induite Dominum Iesum Christum, et carnis curam ne feceritis in desideriis.
1 Cor. 1, 17		
non in sapientia uerbi, ne euacuetur crux Christi (28, 61).	non in sapientia uerbi, ut non euacuetur crux Christi.	non in sapientia uerbi, ut non euacuetur crux Christi.
1 Cor. 3, 7		
et tamen neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed Deus qui incrementum dat (16, 33).	itaque neque, qui plantat, est aliquid, neque, qui rigat, sed, qui incrementum dat, Deus.	itaque neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat: sed, qui incrementum dat, Deus.
1 Cor. 6, 1-9		
audet quisquam uestrum aduersus alterum negotium habens, iudicari ab iniquis, et non apud sanctos? an nescitis quia sancti mundum iudicabunt? et si in uobis iudicabitur mun-	audet aliquis uestrum, habens negotium aduersus alterum, iudicari apud iniquos, et non apud sanctos? an nescitis, quoniam sancti de hoc mundo iudicabunt? et si in uobis iudicabi-	audet aliquis uestrum, aduersus alterum negotium habens, iudicari apud iniustos et non apud sanctos? aut nescitis quia sancti de ho mundo iudicabunt, e in uobis iudicabitur hi

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dus, indigni estis qui de minimis iudicetis? nescitis quoniam angelos iudicabimus, nedum saecularia? saecularia igitur iudicia si habueritis, eos qui contemptibiles sunt in ecclesia, hos collocate ad iudicandum. ad reuerentiam uobis dico. sic non est inter uos quisquam sapiens, qui possit inter fratrem suum iudicare? sed frater cum fratre iudicatur et hoc apud infideles. iam quidem omnino delictum est, quia iudicia habetis uobiscum. quare non magis iniquitatem patimini? quare non potius fraudamini? sed uos iniquitatem facitis, et fraudatis, et hoc fratres. an nescitis quia iniusti regnum Dei non haereditabunt? (18, 36)	tur mundus, indigni estis, qui de minimis iudicetis? nescitis, quoniam angelos iudicabimus? quanto magis saecularia? saecularia igitur si habueritis, contemtibiles, qui sunt in ecclesia, illos constituite ad iudicandum. ad uerecundiam uestram dico. sic non est inter uos sapiens quisquam, qui possit iudicare inter fratrem suum? sed frater cum fratre iudicio contendit, et hoc apud infideles? iam quidem omnino delictum est in uobis, quod iudicia habetis inter uos. quare non magis iniuriam accipitis? quare non magis fraudem patimini? sed uos iniuriam facitis, et fraudatis: et hoc fratribus. an nescitis, quia iniqui regnum Dei non possidebunt?	mundus? indigni estis iudiciorum minimorum. nescitis quoniam angelos iudicamus, neque saecularia? saecularia igitur iudicia si habueritis: contemptibiles qui sunt in ecclesia, illos constutuite. ad reuerentiam uobis dico. sic non est inter uos sapiens, qui possit iudicare inter fratrem suum? sed frater cum fratre iudicio contendit: et hoc apud infideles? iam quidem omnino delictum est uobis, quia iudicia habetis inter uos. quare non magis iniuriam patimini? quare non magis fraudamini? sed uos fraudatis, et iniuriam facitis: et hoc fratribus. aut nescitis quoniam iniqui regnum Dei non possidebunt?
2 Cor. 6, 2-11		
ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis. nullam in quoquam dantes offensionem, ut non reprehendatur ministerium nostrum: sed in omnibus commendantes nosmetipsos ut Dei ministros, in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus, in seditionibus,	ecce, nunc tempus acceptabile: ecce, nunc dies salutis. nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non uituperetur ministerium nostrum: sed in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut Dei ministros in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus, in seditionibus, in laboribus, in	ecce nunc tempus acceptum, ecce nunc dies salutis: nullam in nullo dantes offensionem, ut non uituperetur ministerium nostrum: sed in omnibus commendantes nosmetipsos sicut Dei ministri, in patientia multa, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus, in seditionibus, in laboribus,

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in laboribus, in uigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in benignitate, in Spiritu sancto, in charitate non ficta, in uerbo ueritatis, in uirtute Dei: per arma iustitiae dextra et sinistra, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam; ut seductores, et ueraces; ut qui ignoramur, et cognoscimur; quasi morientes, et ecce uiuimus: ut coerciti, et non mortificati; ut tristes, semper autem gaudentes; sicut egeni, multos autem ditantes; tamquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes. os nostrum patet ad uos, o Corinthii: cor nostrum dilatatum est (19, 42).	uigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in suauitate, in Spiritu sancto, in charitate non ficta, in uerbo ueritatis, in uirtute Dei, per arma iustitiae a dextris et a sinistris, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam: ut seductores et ueraces, sicut qui ignoti et cogniti; quasi morientes, et ecce, uiuimus: ut castigati et non mortificati: quasi tristes, semper autem gaudentes; sicut egentes, multos autem locupletantes: tamquam nihil habentes; et omnia possidentes. os nostrum patet ad uos, o Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est.	in uigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in magnanimitate, in benignitate, in Spiritu sancto, in caritate non ficta, in uerbo ueritatis, in uirtute Dei, per arma iustitiae a dextris, et sinistris; per gloriam in nouitatem; per infamiam, et banam famam: ut seductores, et ueraces; ut qui ignoramur, et cognoscimus: ut morientes, et ecce uiuimus: ut tentati, et non mortificati: ut tristes, semper autem gaudentes: sicut et egentes, multos autem locupletantes: tamquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes. os nostrum patet ad uos, Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est.
2 Cor. 11, 6		
etsi imperitus sermone, sed non scientia (7, 15).	nam et si imperitus sermone, sed non scientia.	etsi imperitus sum sermone, sed non scientia.
2 Cor. 11, 16-31		
iterum dico, ne quis me existimet insipientem esse; alioquin uelut insipientem suscipite me, ut et ego modicum quid glorier. quod loquor, non loquor secundum Deum, sed quasi in stultitia, in hac substantia gloriae. quoniam quidem multi gloriantur secundum carnem, et ego	iterum dico (ne quis me putet insipientem esse, alioquin uelut insipientem accipite me, ut et ego modicum quid glorier) : quod loquor, non loquor secundum Deum, sed quasi in insipientia, in hac substantia gloriae. quoniam multi gloriantur secundum carnem, et ego gloria-	iterum dico, (ne quis me existimet insipientem, alioquin uelut insipientem suscipite me, ut ego pusillum quid glorier) quod loquor, non loquor, secundum Dominum, sed quasi in insipientia, in hac substantia gloriae. quia multi gloriantur secundum carnem: et ego gloriabor. libenter

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gloriabor. libenter enim sustinetis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes. toleratis enim si quis uos in seruitutem redigit, si quis deuorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollitur, si quis in faciem uos caedit. secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmati simus. in quo autem quis audet (in insipientia dico), audeo et ego. Hebraei sunt? et ego. Israelitae sunt? et ego. semen Abrahae sunt? et ego. ministri Christi sunt? (insipiens dico) super ego. in laboribus plurimum, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus saepius. a Iudaeis quinquies, quadraginta una minus accepi. ter uirgis caesus sum, semel lapidatus sum, ter naufragium feci: nocte et die in profundo maris fui; in itineribus saepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in ciuitate, periculis in deserto, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus; in labore et aerumna, in uigiliis saepius, in fame et siti, in ieiuniis saepius, in frigore et nuditate; praeter illa	bor. libenter enim suffertis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes. sustinetis enim, si quis uos in seruitutem redigit, si quis deuorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollitur, si quis in faciem uos caedit. secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmi fuerimus in hac parte. in quo quis audet (in insipientia dico), audeo et ego: Hebraei sunt, et ego: Israelitae sunt, et ego: semen Abrahae sunt, et ego: ministri Christi sunt, (ut minus sapiens dico) plus ego in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter. a Iudaeis quinquies, quadragenas, una minus accepi. ter uirgis caesus sum, semel lapidatus sum, ter naufragium feci, nocte et die in profundo maris fui, in itineribus saepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in ciuitate, periculis in solitudine, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus: in labore et aerumna, in uigiliis multis, in fame et siti, in ieiuniis multis, in frigore, et nuditate,	enim suffertis insipientes: cum sapientes sitis. suffertis enim si quis uos in seruitutem redigit, si quis deuorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollitur, si quis in faciem uos caedit. secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmi fuerimus in hac parte. in quo quis audet (in insipientiam dico) audeo et ego: Hebraei sunt, et ego: Israelitae sunt, et ego: semen Abraham sunt, et ego: ministri Christi sunt, (ut minus sapiens dico) super ego: in laboribus plurimis, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter. a Iudaeis quinquies, quadraginta, una minus, accepi. ter uirgis caesus sum, semel lapidatus sum, ter naufragium feci, noctem et diem in profundo maris feci, itineribus multis, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in ciuitate, periculis in deserto, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus: labore, et aerumna, in uigiliis multis, in fame, et siti, in ieiuniis multis, in frigore, et nuditate: prae-

De Doctr. Chris.	Vulgata	Versio Antiqua
quae extrinsecus sunt, incursus in me quotidianus, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? si gloriari oportet, in iis quae infirmitatis meae sunt, gloriabor. Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi scit, qui est benedictus in saecula, quod non mentior (7, 12-13).	praeter illa quae extrinsecus sunt, instantia mea quotidiana, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur et ego non uror? si gloriari oportet, quae infirmitatis meae sunt, gloriabor. Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui est benedictus in saecula, scit, quod non mentior.	ter illa, quae extrinsecus sunt, concursus in me cottidianus, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalisatur, et non ego uror? si gloriari oportet: quae infirmitatis meae sunt, gloriabor. Deus Israel, et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi scit (benedictus in saecula) quia non mentior.
Gal. 3, 15-22		
fratres, secundum hominem dico, tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo irritum facit, aut superordinat. Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius. non dicit, ‘et seminibus,’ tamquam in multis, sed tamquam in uno, ‘et semini tuo,’ quod est Christus. hoc autem dico, testamentum confirmatum a Deo, quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est lex, non infirmat ad euacuandas promissiones. si enim ex lege haereditas, iam non ex promissione. Abrahae autem per repromissionem donauit Deus. quid ergo lex? transgressionis gratia proposita est, donec ueniret semen cui promissum est, dispo-	fratres (secundum hominem dico), tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo spernit, aut superordinat. Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones, et semini eius. non dicit: et seminibus, quasi in multis; sed quasi in uno: et semini tuo; qui est Christus. hoc autem dico, testamentum confirmatum a Deo, quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est lex, non irritum facit ad euacuandam promissionem. nam si ex lege hereditas, iam non ex promissione. Abrahae autem per repromissionem donauit Deus. quid igitur lex? propter transgressiones posita est, donec ueniret semen, cui promiserat, ordinata per	fratres (secundum hominem dico) tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo irritum faciat, aut superordinat. Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones, ut semini eius. non dicit: et seminibus tuis, tamquam in multis: sed sicut in uno: et semini tuo, qui est Christus. hoc autem dico, testamentum confirmatum a Deo in Christo: quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est lex, non irritam facit ad euacuandam repromissionem. si enim ex lege haereditas, iam non ex repromissione. Abrahae autem repromissionem donauit Deus. quid ergo lex? factorum gratia posita est, quoadusque ueniat semen, cui repro-

De Doctr. Chris.	Vulgata	Versio Antiqua
sita per angelos in manu mediatoris. mediator autem unius non est, Deus uero unus est. lex ergo aduersus promissa Dei? absit. si enim data esset lex quae posset uiuificare, omnino ex lege esset iustitia. sed conclusit scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi daretur credentibus (20, 39).	angelos in manu mediatoris. mediator autem unius non est; Deus autem unus est. lex ergo aduersus promissa Dei? absit. si enim data esset lex, quae posset uiuificare, uere ex lege esset iustitia. sed conclusit scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi daretur credentibus.	missus est, dispositum per angelos in manu mediatoris. mediator autem unius non est. Deus autem unus est. lex ergo aduersus promissa? absit. si enim data est lex, quae posset uiuificare, procerto ex lege iustitia. sed conclusit scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi daretur eis qui credunt.
Gal. 4, 10-20		
dies obseruatis, et menses, et annos, et tempora. timeo uos, ne forte sine causa laborauerim in uobis. estote sicut et ego, quoniam et ego sicut uos: fratres, precor uos; nihil me laesistis. scitis quia per infirmitatem carnis iampridem euangelizaui uobis, et tentationem uestram in carne mea non spreuistis, neque respuistis; sed sicut angelum Dei excepistis me, sicut Christum Iesum. quae ergo fuit beatitido uestra? testimonium uobis perhibeo, quoniam si fieri posset, oculos uestros eruissetis et dedissetis mihi. ergo inimicus factus sum uobis uerum praedicans? ambulantur uos non bene; sed excludere uos uolunt, ut	dies obseruatis et menses, et tempora et annos. timeo uos, ne forte sine causa laborauerim in uobis. estote, sicut ego, quia et ego, sicut uos; fratres, obsecro uos: nihil me laesistis. scitis autem, quia per infirmitatem carnis euangelizaui uobis iampridem, et tentationem uestram in carne mea non spreuistis, neque respuistis: sed sicut angelum Dei excepistis me, sicut Christum Iesum. ubi est ergo beatitudo uestra? testimonium enim perhibeo uobis, quia, si fieri posset, oculos uestros eruissetis, et dedissetis mihi. ergo inimicus uobis factus sum, uerum dicens uobis? aemulantur uos non bene, sed excludere uos uolunt, ut illos aemu-	dies obseruatis, et menses, et annos, et tempora. timeo uos, ne forte sine causa laborauerim in uobis. estote sicut et ego, quia et ego sicut uos: fratres obsecro uos: nihil me laesistis. scitis quod per infirmitatem carnis euangelizaui uobis iampridem: et tentationem uestram in carne mea non spreuistis, neque respuistis: sed sicut angelum Dei excepistis me, sicut Christum Iesum. quae ergo erat beatitudo uestra? testimonium enim uobis perhibeo, quia, si fieri posset, oculos uestros eruissetis, et dedissetis mihi. ergo ego inimicus uobis factus sum, uerum dicens uobis? aemulantur uos non bene; sed excludere uos uolunt, ut eos aemu-

De Doctr. Chris.	Vulgata	Versio Antiqua
eos aemulemini. bonum est autem aemulari in bono semper, et non solum cum praesens sum apud uos. filioli mei, quos iterum parturio donec Christus formetur in uobis. uellem autem nunc adesse apud uos, et mutare uocem meam, quia confundor in uobis (20, 44).	lemini. bonum autem aemulamini in bono semper, et non tantum cum praesens sum apud uos. filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in uobis. uellem autem esse apud uos modo, et mutare uocem meam, quoniam confundor in uobis.	lemini. aemulamini autem meliora dona. bonum est aemulari in bonis semper: et non solum cum praesens sum apud uos. filii mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in uobis. uellem autem adesse apud uos modo, et mutare uocem meam: quoniam confundor in uobis.
Gal. 4, 21-26		
dicite mihi, sub lege uolentes esse, legem non audistis? scriptum est enim, quod Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla, et unum de libera; sed ille quidem qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est: qui autem de libera, per repromissionem: quae sunt in allegoria. haec enim sunt duo testamenta: unum quidem in monte Sina in seruitutem generans, quae est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui coniunctus est huic quae nunc est Ierusalem, et seruit cum filiis suis. quae autem sursum est Ierusalem, libera est, quae est mater nostra (20, 39).	dicite mihi, qui sub lege uultis esse: legem non legistis? scriptum est enim: quoniam Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla et unum de libera. sed qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est; qui autem de libera, per repromissionem; quae sunt per allegoriam dicta. haec enim sunt duo testamenta. unum quidem in monte Sina, in seruitutem generans, quae est Agar; Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui coniunctus est ei, quae nunc est Ierusalem, et seruit cum filiis suis. illa autem, quae sursum est Ierusalem, libera est, quae est mater nostra.	dicite mihi sub lege uolentes esse, legem non legistis? scriptum est enim: quia Abraham duos filios habuit: unum ex ancilla, et unum de libera. sed is quidem, qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est: qui autem de libera, per repromissionem: quae sunt significantia. haec enim sunt duo testamenta. unum quidem a monte Sina, in seruitutem generans: quae est Agar: Agar enim mons est in Arabia, quae consonat huic quae nunc est Hierusalem: seruit enim cum filiis suis. quae autem sursum est Hierusalem, libera est; quae est mater nostra.
Philip. 1, 18		
siue occasione, siue ueritate, Christus annuntietur (27, 59).	siue per occasionem, siue per ueritatem Christus annuntietur.	siue per occasionem, siue per ueritatem, Christus annuntiatur.

De Doctr. Chris.	Vulgata	Versio Antiqua
1 Tim. 4, 11 annuntia haec et doce (16, 33).	praecipe haec, et doce.	praecipe haec et doce.
1 Tim. 4, 12 nemo adolescentiam tuam contemnat . . . sed forma esto fidelium in sermone, in conuersatione, in dilectione, in fide, in castitate (27, 60).	nemo adolescentiam tuam contemnat: sed exemplum esto fidelium in uerbo, in conuersatione, in charitate, in fide, in castitate.	nemo tuam adolescentiam contemnat. sed figura esto fidelibus in sermone, in conuersatione, in caritate, in fide, in castitate.
1 Tim. 5, 1-2 seniorem ne increpaueris, sed obsecra ut patrem, iuniores ut fratres, anus, ut matres, adolescentulas ut sorores (16, 33; 20, 40).	seniorem ne increpaueris, sed obsecra ut patrem: iuuenes, ut fratres: anus, ut matres: iuuenculas, ut sorores.	seniorem ne increpaueris sed obsecra ut patrem; iuniores ut fratres; anus, ut matres; adulescentulas ut sorores.
2 Tim. 1, 13 formam habe uerborum sanorum, quae a me audisti (16, 33).	formam habe sanorum uerborum, quae a me audisti.	formam habens sanorum uerborum, quae a me audisti.
2 Tim. 2, 14-15 noli uerbis contendere; ad nihil enim utile est, nisi ad subuersionem audientium (28, 61). satis age, teipsum probabilem operarium exhibens Deo, non erubescentem, uerbum ueritatis recte tractantem (16, 33).	noli contendere uerbis; ad nihil enim utile est, nisi ad subuersionem audientium. sollicite cura teipsum probabilem exhibere Deo, operarium inconfusibilem, recte tractantem uerbum ueritatis.	noli uerbis contendere: in nihil enim utile est, in subuersione audientium. sollicite cura teipsum exhibere Deo operarium inconfusibilem, recte tractantem uerbum ueritatis.
2 Tim. 3, 14 tu autem perseuera in iis quae didicisti, et credita sunt tibi, sciens a quo didiceris (16, 33).	tu uero permane in iis, quae didicisti, et credita sunt tibi: sciens, a quo didiceris.	tu uero permane in his, quae didicisti, et credita sunt tibi: sciens a quibus didiceris.
2 Tim. 4, 2 praedica uerbum, insta opportune, importune; argue, obsecra, increpa	praedica uerbum, insta opportune, importune: argue, obsecra, increpa	praedica uerbum, insta opportune, importune: argue, exhortare, increpa

	De Doctr. Chris.	Vulgata	Versio Antiqua
	in omni longanimitate et doctrina (16, 33).	in omni patientia et doctrina.	in omni patientia, e doctrina.
Tit. 1, 9	ut potens sit in doctrina sana et contradicentes redarguere (16, 33; 28, 61).	ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana, et eos, qui contradicunt, arguere.	ut potens sit et exhortar in doctrinam sanam, e contradicentes reuincere.
Tit. 1, 16	confitentur se nosse Deum, factis autem negant (29, 62).	confitentur, sē nosse Deum, factis autem negant.	Deum confitentur se nosse factis autem negant.
Tit. 2, 1-2; 15	tu uero loquere quae decent sanam doctrinam, senes sobrios esse. . . . haec loquere, et exhortare, et increpa cum omni imperio. nemo te contemnat (16, 33).	tu autem loquere, quae decent sanam doctrinam: senes ut sobrii sint. . . . haec loquere et exhortare, et argue cum omni imperio. nemo te contemnat.	tu autem loquere quae decet sanam doctrinam: senes sobrios esse. . . . haec loquere, et hortare, et argue cum omni imperio. nemo te contemnat.
Tit. 3, 1	admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse (16, 33).	admone illos, principibus et potestatibus subditos esse.	admone illos principibus, et potestatibus subditos esse.

6. STYLE.[1]

The fourth book, though itself only a manual of style, is so pervaded by the individuality of its author that it is worthy of study from the standpoint of style. Style is the individuality of an author finding expression in writing; and the style of an author is worthy of a place in literature, in as far as the author's personality is worthy to be perpetuated, and is worthily expressed. Augustine's personality is so striking that the reader is not surprised to find that it stamps with its own peculiar seal even so technical a composition as a manual of oratory. Cicero's personality has lifted *De Oratore* to a place in literature; *De Doctrina Christiana* is no less a literary work, even though it has attained its place by means of a style far different from that of Augustine's master. Van Doren[2] claims that an author, to take his place in literature, must bring to his work an attitude and a gift. Augustine, in the present treatise, has done so. He has brought to his writing the conviction of the validity of classical principles, and dominating this, an intense enthusiasm for Christian truth; he has brought the gift of a penetrating clearness of thought, and a remarkable dexterity in the manipulation of words. It is his word-power that we purpose to consider here. Augustine early enjoyed a high reputation for dialectic. It was this, along with the influence of sophistic training, that made him so clever a wielder of words. In *Contra Cresconium* he vigorously defends himself against the attack of the Donatist who accused him of a *false* use of eloquence, of being a mere dabbler in words, and a framer of fine language. Though it is true that by training, and through long years of practice Augustine was a conscious artist, familiar with his tools and skilled in their use, still it is no less a fact that he escaped what is really pernicious in Sophistic, since with him the truth of his message is ever of first importance, and a clever turn of phrase or a pleasing balance of clause is used merely to enforce the thought. His words in chapter 28 of the fourth book are literally true of himself: "nec doctor uerbis seruiat, sed uerba doctori. . . . porro qui non uerbis contendit siue submisse, siue temperae, siue granditer dicat, it agit uerbis ut ueritas pateat, ueritas placeat, ueritas moueat.

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[1] Rhetorical qualities are alone taken up here. Vocabulary and syntax are treated in the Commentary. See index for references.

[2] *American and British Literature since 1890*, p. 215 ff.

Since Book IV is a manual of style, one would not expect it to be ornately written; and it is not. Augustine's explanations are clear, and logical throughout. In places he is very consciously the dialectician; his words are chosen with simplicity and precision, and are even at times deliberately repeated in order to gain greater clearness. This is especially true when he explains the plain style, where very naturally his own manner illustrates the matter in hand. Less frequently his explanation becomes more ornate or heated; but it does so when he is dealing with the two styles that belong to rhetoric proper, the temperate and the grand. Throughout the book, however, whether when writing dialectically or rhetorically, he makes at least a moderate use of the more common figures of words, the stock-in-trade of fourth century literature. The two kinds of figures which stand out as giving particular color to his style are (1) those of parallelism, (2) those of sound. *Parison,* or the occurrence of two or more successive clauses of the same general structure, with its often attendant *homoioteleuton,* is especially representative of the first class; *paronomasia* and its sister-figures represent the figures of sound, wherein similarity in sound is played off in a variety of ways: by change of prefixes; by change of case, voice, mood, etc.; by coupling of derivatives of a same root; by change of a letter or a syllable in a word, etc.

The figures of parallelism are first in importance. Norden (616 ff.) points these out as *the* characteristic of Christian oratory, and it may be added, of Late prose in general. He says: "Die Signatur des Stils der christlichen Predigt in lateinischer Sprache ist der antithetische Satzparallelismus mit Homoioteleuton, nicht etwa, wie der Semitist vielleicht denken konnte, jener 'parallelismus membrorum', wie er sich in der hebräischen Poesie, den Reden der Propheten, den Reden Jesus findet, sondern derselbe, den in griechischer Rede Gorgias begründet hatte."

Quintilian (9, 3, 76 ff.) explains *parison* and *homoioteleuton* thus: " Cleosteleus πάρισον existimat, quod sit e membris non dissimilibus; secundum, ut clausula similiter cadat, syllabis iisdem in ultimam partem collatis, ὁμοιοτέλευτον, similem duarum sententiarum uel plurium finem." Examples could be multiplied of this balance of structure in the present book, but a few will suffice to show how naturally, and with what variety Augustine uses this device.

1) *Simple Parison:*

a) With *homoioteleuton* and *polysnydeton:*

agit ut intellegenter,
ut libenter,
ut obedienter audiatur (15, 32).

b) With *homoioteleuton* and *polyptoton* (a word repeated in a different inflectional form):

illam sequens,
istam praecedens, et sequentem
respuens (7, 12).

c) With *alliteration* and *antithesis:*

sicut autem saepe sumenda sunt et amara salubria
ita semper uitanda est perniciosa dulcedo (5, 7).

d) With *homoioteleuton* and *epanaphora:*

haec quando a magistris docentur,
pro magno habentur,
magno emuntur pretio,
magno iactatione uenduntur. (7, 14).

Varied by the use of double-rhymed *homoioteleuton:*

quid est ergo non solum eloquenter,
sed etiam sapienter dicere,
nisi uerba in submisso genere sufficientia,
in temperato splendentia,
in grandi uehementia adhibere (28, 61).

e) With *epanaphora* and *pleonasm:*

nec curat quid bene sonet,
sed quid bene indicet atque
intimet
quod ostendere intendit (10, 24).

f) With *polysyndeton* and *homoioteleuton*, followed by *asyndeton* with *epanaphora* and *homoioteleuton:*

porro qui non uerbis contendit siue submisse,
siue temperate,
siue granditer dicat,
id agit uerbis ut ueritas pateat,
ueritas placeat,
ueritas moueat (28, 61).

2) *Double Parison:*

a) With *polysyndeton* and *homoioteleuton:*

et aliquando de una eademque re magna
et submisse dicitur, si docetur;
et temperate, si praedicatur;
et granditer, si auersus ut conuertatur
impellitur (19, 38).

non ut libeat quod horrebat,
aut ut fiat quod pigebat,
sed ut appareat quod latebat (11, 26).

And the clever adaptation of the *officia oratoris* to Cicero's definition of the styles:

is erit igitur eloquens, qui
ut doceat, poterit parua submisse;
ut delectet, modica temperate;
ut flectat, magna granditer dicere
(17, 34).

b) With *polyptoton* and *homoioteleuton:*

ut qui audit, uerum audiat,
et quod audit, intellegat (10, 25).

sicut enim gratus est qui cognoscenda enubilat,
sic onerosus est qui cognita inculcat (10, 25).

c) With *epanaphora, polyptoton,* and *homoioteleuton:*

modus inueniendi quae intellegenda sunt et
modus proferendi quae intellecta sunt (1, 1).

d) With *chiasmus* and *homoioteleuton* (a passage imitating the grand style):

ita flectitur
si amet quod polliceris,
timeat quod arguis,

quod commendas, amplectatur,
quod dolendum exaggeras, doleat,
cum quid laetandum praedicas, gaudeat,
misereatur eorum quos miserandos ante oculos dicendo constituis,
fugiat eos quos cauendos terrendo proponis
(12, 27).

Of the other devices of parallelism besides parison and homoioteleuton, *chiasmus,* or reversal in the order of words in two parallel clauses, is also important for its frequency. Often it is combined with parison. Examples are:

probando enim delectat, qui minus potest delectare dicendo. (5, 8).

With *parison:*

uerum et ipsi laudabiliter appetant, fugiantque uituperabiliter uiuere (24, 55).

sicut est autem ut teneatur ad audiendum delectandus auditor, ita flectendus ut moueatur ad agendum (12, 27).

A means sometimes used to heighten the effect of a parallel statement is *metathesis,* i. e., the repetition of two terms in two successive clauses so that in the second clause a reversal of the relation between the two is expressed, for example:

nec doctor uerbis seruiat,
sed uerba doctori (28, 61).

a) With *polysyndeton:*

nec ipsos decet alia,
nec alios ipsa (6, 9).

b) With *alliteration* and *homoioteleuton:*

sed salubri suauitate
uel suaui suauitate, quid melius? (5, 7).

non intenta in eloquentiam sapientia,
sed a sapientia non recedente eloquentia (7, 21).

Besides the instances noted above, *polysyndeton,* as a means to emphasize parallel structure is conspicuous in the following examples:

a) With *pleonasm,* or word-parallelism:

cum et iusta et sancta et bona dicit (15, 32).

b) With parison:

ubicumque agantur haec, siue ad populum siue priuatim, siue ad

> unum siue ad plures, siue ad amicos siue ad inimicos, siue in perpetua dictione siue in collocutione, siue in tractibus siue in libris, siue in epistolis uel longissimis uel breuissimis, magna sunt (18, 37).

Epanaphora, or the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, or sentences, has also been noted above in connection with parison. Other striking examples are:

> et certe minus intellegantur, minus placeant, minus moueant quae dicuntur (14, 30).
>
> quia ueritas sic demonstrata, sic defensa, sic inuicta delectat (26, 56).
>
> quid est quod sic indignatur apostolus, sic corripit, sic exprobrat, sic increpat, sic minatur? quid est quod sui animi affectum tam crebra et tam aspera uocis mutatione testatur? quid est postremo quod de rebus minimis tam granditer dicit? (18, 36)
>
> persuadet autem in submisso genere uera esse quae dicit; persuadet in grandi ut agantur quae agenda esse iam sciuntur, nec aguntur; persuadet in genere temperato, pulchre ornateque se dicere (25, 55)

Hyperbaton, or the separation of words which grammatically belong together, is another figure of structure frequent in this book as in all of Augustine's writings. In this the writer approaches Cicero and the classics more closely than in the figures of parallelism just noted. Hyperbaton is used in many cases obviously for the sake of the clausulae involved. Examples are:

> sed quia non ostentant quam nimis isti diligunt eloquentiam (7, 14).
>
> et fraternae ideo negligentissimos charitatis (7, 16).
>
> nescio utrum illa quam didicimus et docuimus arte tradatur (7, 20).

Of equal importance with the figures just considered are the figures of sound that fill this book. These are the figures which taken to the extreme constitute in large part that word-jugglery which has become synonymous with the name 'Sophistic'. They are fundamentally the balancing of words having similarity of sound but dissimilarity of sense. It is not by a sparing use of these figures that Augustine saves himself from the reproach that belongs to this phase of Sophistic; it is through the purpose which he makes these figures serve that he avoids the blame usually attendant upon their use. Augustine's aim in these clever turns of expression is not, as is the Sophist's, to flaunt his wit in terms of empty display; he uses them in order to compel the attention of his reader, and thereby to win favor and assent for the matter under discussion.

Paronomasia proper, occurs in words alike in sound, but different in sense because of difference in prefix. The following are examples:

quis ita *desipiat,* ut hoc *sapiat?* (2, 3).
quae formam pigmentis *colorant,* uel potius *decolorant* (21, 49).
et bona *docere,* et mala *dedocere* (4, 6).
uel in malis quae *pendit,* uel in bonis quae *rependit* (7, 20).
nos ea tanti *pendimus,* ut eis discendis iam maturos . . . aetates uelimus *impendi* (3, 4).
haec tamen sic *detrahit* ornatum, ut sordes non *contrahat* (10, 24).
quae pectora eorum hostiliter *obsidebat,* uel potius *possidebat* (24, 53).
imperite peritus (considering the meaning, an example also of *oxymoron,* i. e., the combination of two apparently contradictory terms) (7, 11).

Polyptoton, called also *traductio,* is a kind of paronomasia produced by the repetition of a word in different case, mood, tense, etc., with the set purpose of rhetorical effect. Examples are:

qui potuit euangelium dare *homini,* etiam non ab *hominibus,* neque per *hominem* (16, 33).
cum uero *boni fideles bonis fidelibus* hanc operam commodant (29, 62).

Often this figure is used in dialectical passages where Augustine wishes to be particularly precise and clear, as for example:

fit autem ut cum *incidentes quaestioni* aliae *quaestiones,* et aliae rursus *incidentibus incidentes* pertractantur atque soluuntur in eam longitudinem (20, 39).
qui ergo *dicit* cum docere uult, quamdiu non intellegetur, nondum se existimet *dixisse quod* uult ei *quem* uult docere (12, 27).

Polyptoton occurs often in antithetical sentences:

quod si etiam delectare uult eum cui *dicit,* . . . non quocumque modo *dixerit, faciet,* sed interest quomodo *dicat* ut *faciat* (12, 27).
non quid *agendum sit* ut *sciant,* sed ut *agant* quod *agendum esse iam sciunt* (12, 27).
qua etsi *dixit* quod ipsi *intellegit* nondum ille *dixisse* putandus est, a

> quo *intellectus* non est; si uere *intellectus est*, quocumque modo *dixerit, dixit* (12, 27).
>
> quod ergo *minimum* est *minimum* est; sed in *minimo* fidelem esse magnum est (18, 35).
>
> nam sine praeceptis rhetoricis nouimus *plurimos eloquentiores pluri-mis* qui illa didicerunt, sine lectis uero et auditis *eloquentium* disputationibus uel dictionibus, neminem (3, 5).

Paragmenon, or *deriuatio*, is another species of paronomasia, consisting of the repetition of a word in form of a derivative—an adjective from a noun, an adverb from a verb or an adjective, etc. Examples are:

> et ea sua faciunt, quae non ipsi *componere* potuerunt, qui secundum illa *composite* uiunt (29, 62).
>
> in sermonibus . . . *eloquentium* impleta reperiuntur praecepta *eloquentiae*, de quibus illi ut *eloquerentur* uel cum *eloquerentur*, non cogitauerunt (3, 4).
>
> et haec se posse si potuerit . . . pietate magis *orationum*, quam *oratorum* facultate non dubitet, ut *orando* pro se . . . sit *orator* antequam dictor (15, 32).

All three kinds of paronomasia are combined in the following example:

> cum ex infantibus *loquentes* non fiant, nisi *locutiones* discendo *loquentium* cur *eloquentes* fieri non possint, nulla *eloquendi* arte tradita, sed *elocutiones eloquentium* legendo (3, 5).

Similarity of sound with dissimilarity of sense in words of different root is a kind of paronomasia called *parachesis*. The following are examples:

> nec *moris* est nec *decoris* (10, 25).
>
> tamquam *debita reddita* (20, 40).
>
> prorsus haec est in *docendo* eloquentia, qua fit *dicendo*, etc. (11, 26).
>
> nonnullam similitudinem, *uescentes* atque *discentes*, etc. (11, 26).

a) With *litotes* and *hyperbaton:*

> sic namque *eligit* bonam uitam, ut etiam bonam non *neglegat* famam (28, 61).

b) With *polyptoton:*

> si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus sanctus qui *persequentibus* traduntur pro Christo, cur non et in eis qui tradunt *discentibus* Christum? (15, 32).

c) With *paradox:*

qui *stertit, aduertit* (7, 12).

Alliteration occurs frequently in the fourth book, especially as a means of enhancing other figures, as noted above. Further examples are:

sua enim quaerere student, sed sua docere non audent, de loco scilicet superiore sedis ecclesiasticae quam sana doctrina constituit (27, 57).

a) With *onomatopoeia* and *parachesis:*

non dicuntur ista nisi mirabiliter affluentissima fecunditate facundiae (14, 31).

b) With *assonance* (same sound in the middle or end of words) and *polyptoton:*

bonorum ingeniorum insignis est indoles, in uerbis uerum amare, non uerba (11, 26).

The figures of imagery in the fourth book may be dismissed in a few words. As would be expected in a manual of technique, only the most common *metaphors* and *comparisons* are found. The following are representative *metaphors:*

deinde quattuor caesa decentissimo impetu profluunt (7, 13).

qui huius sapientiae filii et ministri sumus (5, 7).

St. Paul is termed

comes sapientiae, dux eloquentiae (7, 12).

The following *comparisons* occur:

dum (dictio submissa) sententias acutissimas de nescio quibus quasi cauernis, unde non sperabatur, eruit et ostendit (26, 56).

sicut autem pulchrum corpus et deformis est animus, magis dolendus est, quam si deforme est animus (28, 61). (The comparison is to oratory of empty display.)

quasi sapientiam . . . procedere intellegas, et tamquam inseparabilem famulam . . . sequi eloquentiam (6, 9).

locorum nominibus tamquam luminibus ornatur eloquium (7, 17).

totus iste quasi anhelans locus bimenbri circuitu terminatur (7, 13).

From the preceding examples it may readily be concluded (1) that on the whole Augustine's use of figures in the present treatise is a moderate one, both from the point of view of quantity and of quality; (2) that the figures most frequent, those of parallelism and of sound, while they are particularly sophistic in character, are used naturally by Augustine, wholly for the purpose of stressing the matter; and that they therefore accomplish the result of so enhancing and strengthening the thought as to raise a mere manual of technique into something literary.

In order better to appreciate the mingling of these opposite qualities, *i. e.*, artificiality and spontaneity of expression, exuberance and moderation, it may be helpful to analyze one of the chapters of the fourth book, and to test for these qualities its mingling of figures.

> nam cum per artem rhetoricam et uera suadeantur et falsa (polysyndeton and hyperbaton), quis audeat dicere aduersus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere ueritatem (hyperbaton), ut illi qui res falsas persuadere conantur, nouerint auditorem uel beneuolum, uel intentum, uel (polysyndeton) docilem proemio facere, isti (antithesis) autem non nouerint; illi falsa breuiter, aperte, uerisimiliter (asyndeton), et isti (antithesis) uera sic narrent, ut audire taedeat, intellegere non pateat, credere postremo non libeat (parison, homoioteleuton); illi fallacibus argumentis ueritatem (antithesis) oppugnent, asserant falsitatem (chiasmus), isti (antithesis) nec uera defendere nec (polysyndeton) falsa ualeant refutare; illi animos audientium (alliteration) in errorem mouentes impellentesque (pleonasm) dicendo terreant, contristent, exhilarent, exhortentur (asyndeton) ardenter (assonance), isti (antithesis) pro ueritate lenti frigidique (pleonasm) dormitent (metaphor). quis ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat (paronomasia)? cum ergo sit in medio posita (hyperbaton) facultas eloquii, quae ad persuadenda seu praua seu (polysyndeton) recta (antithesis) ualet plurimum, cur non bonorum studio comparatur, ut militet ueritati (metaphor), si eam mali (antithesis) ad obtinendas peruersas uanasque causas in usus iniquitatis et erroris (pleonasm) usurpant (interrogatio)? (2, 3).

This chapter, representative as it is of the whole of Book IV, serves to show the sanity of Augustine's expression. It is carefully written; it abounds in figures; but these are so relatively commonplace and natural, so thoroughly a part of the thought, that while the reader realizes that he has here something higher than the flat, bald style of the ordinary manual, he feels too that this writing is far from the bad taste inherent in floridity and empty display.

The clausulae of *De Doctrina Christiana* will not be taken up here. Even the casual reader will notice that rhythm has not been ignored in this treatise, though Augustine's care for cadences naturally is different in a technical work from what it is in a work of the grand style, as for example in *De Civitate Dei*. But if in other points of style, as has been seen, *De Doctrina Christiana* is worthy to rank as literature beside *De Oratore* and *Orator*, the reader may conclude that in rhythm also the author has been careful to teach by illustration through his own style.

7. INFLUENCE.

"The fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana* has historical significance in the early years of the fifth century out of all proportion to its size; for it begins rhetoric anew. It not only ignores Sophistic; it goes back over centuries of the lore of personal triumph to the ancient idea of moving men to truth; and it gives to the vital counsels of Cicero a new emphasis for the urgent tasks of preaching the word of God."[1] This estimate of the fourth book sums up the three points which make the whole value of the treatise: its repudiation of Sophistic, its re-introduction of the classical standard, and its presentation of the Christian ideal.

The value of *De Doctrina Christiana* was early recognized, and made St. Augustine an authority for homiletic not only in his own time, but especially throughout the Middle Ages. To trace in detail his influence on rhetorical thought would be the matter for separate study, and cannot be attempted here. It is sufficient to point to a few outstanding instances where the dominance of Augustine's theory is most clearly evident. Cassiodorus appeals to *De Doctrina Christiana* in his exposition of the Psalter; Rabanus Maurus in *De Institutione Clericorum* draws almost entirely from it for his third book; St. Bonaventure, in the treatise now generally accredited to him, the *Ars Concionandi*, opens his discussion by reference to Augustine's distinction between *inuentio* and *elocutio* (modus inueniendi . . . modus proferendi, 4, 1, 1) and to 4, 12, 37, and quotes copiously from the fourth book as he proceeds in the third part of his treatise;[2] St. Thomas often recalls Augustine's position, especially in regard to the purpose of the temperate style, the qualities required in a preacher, the necessity to the ecclesiastic of a thorough knowledge of things sacred, and the power of a good life to influence an audience.

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[1] Baldwin (2) 51.

A mediaeval tractate on preaching,[3] recently found in a volume of incunabula belonging to the library of Cornell University, quotes from *De Oratore II* and *De Doctrina Christiana IV* to emphasize the importance of considering not only *what,* but also *how* to speak. It is not a mere coincidence that master and disciple are thus coupled. It shows that if for Augustine in the fifth century 'Cicero' stood for all that was best in the classical tradition, to the Middle Ages and later times 'Cicero and Augustine' expressed well-rounded Latin rhetorical authority.

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[2] Cf. references to De Doctr. Chris. 4, 2, 3; 4, 5, 7; 4, 5, 8; 4, 9, 23; 4, 10, 24; 4, 11, 26; 4, 12, 27; 4, 28, 61; 4, 15, 32.

[3] Cf. Caplan 70-71.

SIGLA

A = Codex Vaticanus Urbin. lat. 67, saec. xii
B = Codex Parisinus lat. 1595, " ix
C = Codex Parisinus lat. 1938, " x
D = Codex Parisinus lat. 2704, " x
E = Codex Parisinus lat. 1909, " xiv
F = Codex Vaticanus Palat. lat. 188, " ix-x
G = Codex Vaticanus Palat. lat. 189, " x
H = Codex Vaticanus Palat. lat. 190, " xiii
I = Codex Vaticanus lat. 657, " xiii

Maur. = Editio Maurina, t. III. Paris., 1680.
Mig. = Editio I. P. Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIV. Paris., 1887.

S. AVRELI AVGVSTINI

DE

DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA

LIBER QVARTVS

S. AVRELI AVGVSTINI

HIPPONIENSIS EPISCOPI

DE

DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA

LIBER QVARTVS

1, 1. Hoc opus nostrum quod inscribitur *de doctrina christiana,* in duo quaedam fueram prima distributione partitus. nam post prooemium, quo respondi eis qui hoc fuerant reprehensuri, *duo sunt res* inquam *quibus nititur omnis tractatio scripturarum: modus inueniendi quae intellegenda sunt, et modus proferendi quae intellecta sunt. de inueniendo prius, de proferendo postea disseremus.* quia ergo de inueniendo multa iam diximus, et tria de hac una parte uolumina absoluimus. adiuuante Domino, de proferendo pauca dicemus, ut, si fieri potuerit, uno libro cuncta claudamus, totumque hoc opus quattuor uoluminibus terminetur.

2. Primo itaque exspectationem legentium, qui forte me putant

1 scribitur *B.* 2 quidem *F.* fuerat *F.* primo *om. B;* primum *F.* 6 sunt *om. C.* 7 ergo *om. B.* 8 absoluimus uolumina *A.* domino adiuuante *Maur.* 9 de proferendo . . . uno libro *om. F.* 11 primum *B.*

1. *Introduction. Subject matter of Book IV: 'modus proferendi', i.e., style. The book, however, is not intended as a treatise on rhetoric.*

1. **Doctrina** is used, of course, in the classical sense of 'teaching', or 'instruction': cf. Cic. De Orat. 1, 48, 208: illa non sunt aliqua mihi doctrina tradita, sed in rerum usu causisque tractata.

4. **modus inueniendi . . . intellecta sunt:** Augustine reduces the traditional fivefold division of oratory (*inuentio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, actio*) to a twofold division. *Inuentio* (*modus inueniendi*), he treats at length in the first three books of *De Doctrina Christiana; dispositio,* he omits; *elocutio, memoria,* and *actio* (*modus proferendi*), he develops in Book IV, analyzing fully the first, and giving a passing notice to the other two. His emphasis on *inuentio,* and *elocutio* is, however, only a natural one, and is by no means peculiar to him alone. Aristotle divides oratory into εὕρεσις, λέξις, and τάξις (Rhet. 3, 1, 1403b), treating εὕρεσις (*inuentio*) in his first two books, and dividing his last book between the other two, giving the first twelve chapters to λέξις (*elocutio*), and the last six to τάξις (*dispositio*). Both Cicero and Quintilian also recognize the greater importance of *inuentio* and *elocutio,* and though they do not leave undeveloped the other parts as Augustine does, they give greater space to the discussion of these two. In De Orat., Cicero treats *inuentio, dispositio,* and *memoria* in Book II, and *elocutio* and *actio* in Book III; but in both these books more than two-thirds of the discussion is given to *inuentio* and *elocutio,* respectively. The Rhetorica ad Herennium, in four books, gives the first two, and a third of Book III to *in-*

A TREATISE

BY

SAINT AURELIUS AUGUSTINE

BISHOP OF HIPPO

ON

CHRISTIAN TEACHING

BOOK IV

1, 1. This work of mine, entitled, "Christian Teaching", I had, according to my first arrangement, divided into a certain two parts. For after the introducion, in which I answered those who were likely to be critical, I said: "There are two things upon which every treatment of the Scriptures depends: the means of discovering what the thought may be, and the means of expressing what the thought is. We shall discuss first the discovery of the thought, then its expression." And so, because we have already spoken at length on the discovery of the thought, and have finished three books on this part alone, we shall, with the help of God, speak in brief on the expression of the thought, so as, if possible, to include all in one book, and to finish this whole work in four sections.

2. And so, first, in this introduction, I wish to put down the

uentio, the remainder of this book to *dispositio*, *pronuntiatio*, and *memoria*, and Book IV to *elocutio*. Quintilian devotes Books III through VI of De Instit. Orat. to *inuentio*, Book VII to *dispositio*, Books VIII and IX to *elocutio*.—Note the characteristically neat manner in which Augustine here states his twofold division, making use of common rhetorical figures in order to heighten his contrast: polyptoton, in *intellegenda . . . intellecta*; homoioteleuton, in *modus inueniendi . . . sunt*, *modus proferendi . . . sunt*; and parison, in the close agreement in number of syllables in the contrasted clauses. The expression is artificial, but it flows spontaneously from the writer's pen.

6. **disseremus:** a favorite word with Cicero: cf. De Repub. 1, 13; De Orat. 2, 157; De Fin. 2, 27; De Off. 3, 74, etc.: cf. Merguet (1) 206.

8. **de proferendo pauca dicemus:** cf. Arist. Rhet. 3, 1, 1403b: *οὐ γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ ἔχειν ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ὡς δεῖ εἰπεῖν.*

9. **si . . . potuerit:** the future perfect for the simple future is Early, Poetic, and Silver. Cicero, however, also uses *potuero* and *uoluero* in this way, *e. g.* De Off. 3, 89: extorquebit, si potuerit; *ibid.* 3, 76: si uoluerit, doceat. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 151 ff.; St.-Schm. 563. Note this below in 5, 8; 30, 63.

cuncta = *totus* in plu.: cited for Afran., Cic., Sall.; Silver and Late writers: cf. T. L. L. IV, 1397, 77-1398, 6.

10. **terminetur:** Augustine prefers the passive to the active voice, seemingly to avoid the imperfect homoioteleuton: dicemus . . . claudamus . . . terminemus.

11. **forte** = *fortasse*, *forsitan*, belongs to Silver and Late Latin: cf. T. L. L. VI, 1131, 71—1132, 23; K.-Steg. II, 1, 812. See this below in 7, 15; 10, 25.

rhetorica daturum esse praecepta quae in scholis saecularibus et didici et docui, ista praelocutione prohibeo, atque ut a me non exspectentur, admoneo, non quod nihil habeant utilitatis, sed quod, si quid habent, seorsum discendum est, si cui fortassis bono uiro etiam haec uacat discere, non autem a me uel in hoc opere, uel in aliquo alio requirendum.

2, 3. Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et uera suadeantur et falsa, quis audeat dicere, adversus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere ueritatem, ut uidelicet illi qui res falsas persuadere conantur, nouerint auditorem uel beneuolum uel intentum uel docilem prooemio facere, isti autem non nouerint; illi falsa breuiter, aperte, uerisimiliter, et isti uera sic narrent, ut audire taedeat, intellegere non pateat, credere postremo non libeat; illi fallacibus argumentis ueritatem oppugnent, asserant falsitatem, isti nec uera defendere, nec falsa ualeant refutare; illi animos

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1 et *om. C.* 2 cohibeo *A Maur.* 3 (sed) quod *om. ABD.* 4 si (quid) *om. D.* habeant *BF.* dicendum *B.* 5 discere *om. F.* 8 auderet *E.* 12 breuiter *om. E.* narrant *E.* 14 isti *E.* falsis *E.* 15 neque falsa *A.*

2. **ista** = *hac,* as frequently throughout this work: a characteristic usage of Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 476-77.

praelocutione, in the transferred sense of 'preface', is cited, besides for this passage, only for Sen. excerpt. Controv. 3 praef. 11; Frontin. 3 praef. in Aug. Epist. 147, 5, 6, 11: cf. Georges s. v.

a me non exspectentur: a Ciceronian expression: cf. Fam. 11, 5, 3: a te hoc ciuitas uel omnes potius gentes non exspectant solum sed etiam postulant; *ibid.* 3, 12, 4: dixi Seruilio, ut omnia a me maiora exspectaret; *ibid.* 3, 10, 1; De Rep. 1, 4; *ibid.* 6, 19.

4. **seorsum:** mostly Early; not in Caes., Verg., or Hor.; once in Cic.: cf. Benoist-Goelz. and Georges s. v.

si cui fortassis . . . uacat discere: the impersonal *uacat alicui* is Poetic and Silver. The infinitive with *uacat* occurs first in Cic. Fam. 12, 13, 2; in poetry from Vergil on; and often in Silver Latin. Arts (85) notes one instance in Augustine's Confessions (6, 11): non uacat Ambrosio, non uacat legere. See K.-Schm. s. v., St.-Schm. 582.

fortassis: rare, almost entirely confined to Early, Silver, and Late Latin. Cf. T. L. L. VI, 1143-1144; K.-Steg. II, 1, 812; Goelzer (2) 44. Arts (83) notes two instances in the Conf. It occurs below also in 20, 39.

2. *The Christian orator should not despise the skill afforded by rhetoric.*

7. **nam cum . . . dormitent:** for an estimate of the importance of this passage, cf. Norden 533-534. For a rhetorical analysis of it, see Introduction, page 40. It would seem that Augustine, fired by enthusiasm for his subject, makes use unconsciously, as it were, of the devices common to Cicero and the schools, in order to prove how rhetoric may properly be used for strengthening a good cause.

per artem rhetoricam: A., in this chapter, gives a digest of the classical rules of procedure in the traditional six parts of a speech: *exordium, narratio, diuisio, confirmatio, confutatio,* and *conclusio.* He intends thereby to point out the inequality between those who know these rules and those who do not.

per artem: a common equivalent in the later Latinity for the ab-

hopes of readers who, it may be, think that I am going to set forth the rules of rhetoric which I learned and taught in the public schools, and I wish to warn them not to look for this from me, not because such things have no utility, but because, if they have any, it must be got elsewhere if perchance a worthy person have time to learn even such things; but this must not be required of me, either in this work or in any other.

2, 1. For since through the art of rhetoric both truth and falsehood are pleaded, who would be so bold as to say that against falsehood, truth as regards its own defenders ought to stand unarmed, so that, forsooth, those who attempt to plead false causes know from the beginning how to make their audience well-disposed, attentive, and docile, while the others remain ignorant of it; so that the former utter their lies concisely, clearly, with the appearance of truth, and the latter state the truth in a way that is wearisome to listen to, not clear to understand, and finally, not pleasant to believe; so that one side, by fallacious arguments, attacks truth and propounds falsehood, the other has no skill either

lative of means. See also 7, 14; 12, 28; 20, 39. Cf. St.-Schm. 438.

suadeantur: this personal passive use of *suadeo* is Early and Late.

10. **nouerint**, meaning 'know how,' is Early, Poetic, and Late: see K.-Schm. s. v.

beneuolum . . . docilem: the traditional end of the *exordium:* cf. Ad Her. 1, 4, 6: exordiorum duo sunt genera: principium quod Graece προοίμιον appellatur, et insinuatio, quae ἔφοδος nominantur. principium est, cum statim animum auditoris nobis reddimus ad audiendum. id ita sumitur, ut *attentos*, ut *dociles*, ut *beneuolos* auditores habere possimus.

12. **breuiter, aperte, uerisimiliter**: the traditional qualities of the *narratio:* cf. Ad Her. 1, 9, 14: tres res conuenit habere narrationem, ut *breuis*, ut *dilucida*, ut *ueri similis* sit.

et, adversative, is used at times in classical prose, but becomes frequent in Tacitus, and Late writers: cf. St.-Schm. 660. Arts (66) notes several instances in the Confessions. See also 5, 7: et cor, etc.

14. **argumentis**: the weapons of the *confirmatio* and the *confutatio:* cf. Ad Her. 1, 10, 18: tota spes uincendi ratioque persuadendi posita est in confirmatione et in confutatione. nam cum *adiumenta nostra exposuerimus contrariaque dissoluerimus*, absolute nimirum munus oratorium confecerimus.

15. **ualeant** = *possint:* Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm. 582. It occurs again in 7, 15.

animos audientium . . . exhortentur ardenter: the purpose of the *conclusio:* cf. Ad Her. 2, 30, 47-50: conclusiones, quae apud Graecos ἐπίλογοι nominantur, tripertitae sunt. nam constant ex enumeratione, amplificatione et commiseratione. . . . misericordia commouebitur auditoribus, si uariam fortunarum commutationem dicemus, . . . si supplicabimus et nos sub eorum, quorum misericordiam captabimus, potestatem subiciemus: si, quid nostris parentibus, liberis, ceteris necessariis casurum sit propter nostras calamitates, aperiemus et simul ostendemus illorum nos solitudine et miseria, non nostris incommodis dolere, etc.

audientium in errorem mouentes impellentesque dicendo terreant, contristent, exhilarent, exhortentur ardenter, isti pro ueritate, lenti frigidique dormitent! quis ita desipiat, ut hoc sapiat? cum ergo sit in medio posita facultas eloquii, quae ad persuadenda seu praua seu recta ualet plurimum, cur non bonorum studio comparatur, ut militet ueritati, si eam mali ad obtinendas peruersas uanasque causas in usus iniquitatis et erroris usurpant?

3, 4. Sed quaecumque sunt de hac re obseruationes atque praecepta, quibus cum accedit in uerbis plurimis ornamentisque uerborum exercitationis linguae solertissima consuetudo, fit illa quae facundia uel eloquentia nominatur, extra istas litteras nostras, seposito ad hoc congruo temporis spatio, apta et conuenienti aetate discenda sunt eis qui hoc celeriter possunt. nam et ipsos Romanae principes eloquentiae non piguit dicere quod hanc artem nisi quis cito possit, numquam omnino possit perdiscere. quod utrum uerum sit, quid est opus quaerere? non enim, etiam si possint haec a tardioribus

1 mouentes *in marg. B.* 3 -que *om. E.* 4 posita sit in medio *I.* persuadendum *A.* 5 seu recte seu praua *E.* comparetur *E.* 6 eam]iam *F.* 7 in usus *om. E*; in usu *A.* 9 accidit *B.* uerborum quod *CG.* 10 exercitationis *om. ABDF*; exercitationis uerborum linguae *H.* solertissimae *F.* 11 nostras *om. C*; nostras litteras *E.* 12 aetate *om. E*; aetati *B.* 14 artem hanc *D.* 15 utrumque *I.* uerum sit]est uerum *E.* 16 opus est *Maur.* si *om. I.*

3. **desipiat . . . sapiat:** a neat example of paronomasia. Augustine, in spite of his declared aversion for Sophistic, cannot always shake off his early training. The figure, here, however, is a moderate one, and is not in bad taste.

cum ergo sit . . . posita facultas eloquii, etc.: cf. A.'s defense of eloquence in De Doctr. Chris. 2, 36, 54: sunt etiam quaedam praecepta uberioris disputationis, quae iam eloquentia nominantur, quae nihilominus uera sunt, quamuis eis possint etiam falsa persuaderi: sed quia et uera possunt, non est facultas ipsa culpabilis, sed ea male utentium peruersitas.—Compare Cicero's opinion of the value of rhetoric in the orator's training. It, too, is conservative, but fair: De Orat. 1, 32, 145: nam de actione et de memoria quaedam breuia, sed magna cum exercitatione praecepta gustaram. in his enim fere rebus omnis istorum artificum doctrina uersatur, quam ego si nihil dicam adiuuare, mentiar. De Inuent. 1, 5, 7: ut [si] medicinae materiam dicamus morbos ac uulnera, quod in his omnis medicina uersetur, item, quibus in rebus uersatur ars et facultas oratoria, eas res materiam artis rhetoricae nominamus.

4. **in medio posita** = κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ: another common Ciceronian phrase: cf. De Orat. 1, 3, 12: dicendi ratio in medio posita: Verr. 2, 2, 42; De Nat. Deor. 1, 6, 14; Diu. in Caec. 11, 33, etc.

6. **ueritati:** dative of interest is employed by Late writers with considerable freedom. Note Ambrose's use of this construction, as pointed out by McGuire (29), and Buck (28-29).

3. *'Praecepta'* vs. *'imitatio': the place and importance of each.*

8. **obseruationes,** 'rules', is Silver and Late.

in defending the true, or refuting the false; so that the one, moving and impelling the minds of the audience to error by the force of its oratory, now strikes them with terror, now saddens them, now enlivens them, now ardently arouses them, but the other in the cause of truth is sluggish and cold and falls asleep! Who is so foolish as to be thus wise? Since, therefore, there has been placed equally at our disposal the power of eloquence, which is so efficacious in pleading either for the erroneous cause or the right, why is it not zealously acquired by the good, so as to do service for the truth, if the unrighteous put it to the uses of iniquity and of error for the winning of false and groundless causes?

3, 4. But, whatever the rules and precepts are on this subject, which, with the addition of adroit oral practice in the use of a large vocabulary and rich diction, result in what we term eloquence, or oratory, they must be acquired by those who can do so quickly, outside of this treatise of ours, at a proper and fitting age, when a suitable amount of time has been set aside for them. For even the very masters of Roman eloquence themselves have not hesitated to say that no one can ever acquire this art at all unless he do so quickly. What need is there to question the truth of this? For even if these rules can at length finally be mastered by the

11. **istas litteras nostras:** note the Late combination of *iste* and *noster.* The classical sense of *iste* is here completely lost.

12. **congruo:** *congruus* is Early and Late, for classical *congruens.* It occurs again in 30, 63. See K.-Schm. s. v.; T. L. L. IV, 303-304.

13. **nam et . . . perdiscere:** cf. De Orat. 3, 36, 146: tum Caesar: unum inquit, me ex tuo sermone maxime, Crasse, commouit, quod eum negasti, qui non cito didicisset, umquam omnino posse perdiscere.

et = *etiam,* 'even,' is frequent in Livy, Tacitus, and Late writers: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm. 661. Arts (66) notes the freedom with which Augustine uses *et* in the Confessions. For *et* = *etiam*, cf. below: 16, 33; 18, 35; 23, 52; 24, 54; 29, 62; 30, 63.

14. **dicere quod . . . possit:** the common Late equivalent for the infinitive and accusative of indirect discourse. Cf. St.-Schm. 720-21. This occurs also in 7, 11; 7, 13; 18, 37; 20, 41.

15. **quod utrum . . . sit:** *utrum* in a single indirect question is frequent in Late Latin: cf. Goel. (1) 430; *id.* (2) 686; St.-Schm. 651. It occurs frequently in De Ciu. Dei: cf. Colbert 39-40.

16. **si possint:** the *si sit . . . est* (*erit*) type of conditional sentence, for present general conditions, belongs to the later Latinity. Besides the present instance, this type occurs also in four other places in this chapter: si—adsit, adhaeret; etsi—non agat, . . . intentus sit, . . . imbuitur; si—desit, . . . capiuntur; si—capiantur, . . . prosunt; and in the following chapters: 4, 6; 7, 11; 7, 19; 7, 20; 7, 21; 10, 24; 12, 27; 12, 28; 16, 33; 17, 34; 19, 38; 20, 41; 23, 52; 25, 55; 29, 62. Cf. St.-Schm. 774.

tandem aliquando perdisci, nos ea tanti pendimus, ut eis discendis iam maturas uel etiam graues hominum aetates uelimus impendi. satis est ut adolescentulorum ista sit cura, nec ipsorum omnium quos utilitati ecclesiasticae cupimus erudiri, sed eorum quos nondum magis urgens et huic rei sine dubio praeponenda necessitas occupauit. quoniam si acutum et feruens adsit ingenium, facilius adhaeret eloquentia legentibus et audientibus eloquentes, quam eloquentiae praecepta sectantibus. nec desunt ecclesiasticae litterae, etiam praeter canonem in auctoritatis arce salubriter collocatum, quas legendo homo capax, etsi id non agat, sed tantummodo rebus quae ibi dicuntur, intentus sit, etiam eloquio quo dicuntur, dum in his uersatur, imbuitur, accedente uel maxime exercitatione siue scribendi, siue dictandi, postremo etiam dicendi, quae secundum pietatis ac fidei regulam sentit. si autem tale desit ingenium, nec illa rhetorica praecepta capiuntur, nec, si magno labore inculcata quantulacumque ex parte capiantur, aliquid prosunt. quandoquidem etiam ipsi qui ea didicerunt et copiose ornateque dicunt, non omnes ut secundum ipsa dicant, possunt ea cogitare cum dicunt, si non de his disputant; imo uero uix ullos eorum esse existimo,

1 discendas *E.* 3 omnium]hominum *E.* 4 utilitatis *CFG.* erudire *E.* 6 quoniam neque *F.* 11 etiam *om. I.* quo]quod *F.* 12 hiis *E.* induitur *BD.* maxime et *F.* 17 copiose ornateque]copiosae ornatae quae *D*; copiose et ornate *E.* non omnes . . . possunt *om. H.* 18 cogitare ea *E.* ea cogitare cum dicunt *om. H.* 19 his]eis *DE.* illos *F.*

1. **pendimus,** 'esteem', is mostly Early and Poetic: cf. Ter. Heaut. 1, 1, 103: tu illum numquam ostendisti quanti penderes.

eis discendis: the ablative of the gerundive to express manner or circumstance is rare in Early Latin, and does not occur in Caesar or Cicero: cf. St.-Schm. 599-600; K.-Steg. II, 1, 752. Note this below in 4, 6.

3. **adolescentulorum ista sit cura:** cf. De Orat. 3, 31, 125: educatione doctrinaque *puerili.*

ipsorum: *ipse* = *is*, here, and many times below, as frequently in Late Latin.

4. **utilitati:** an extended use of the dative of purpose: Poetic, Tacitean, Late. See St.-Schm. 418-419. Buck (28) notes that this is a favorite construction with Ambrose.

ecclesiasticae: an attributive adjective to replace an objective or a subjective genitive became very common from the time of Augustus on. Compare the frequent use in Eccl. Latin of such adjectives in *-icus.* Several occur below: euangelicus, dominicus, apostolicus.

6. **quoniam . . . sectantibus:** Cicero says: vero ego hanc uim intellego esse in praeceptis omnibus, non ut ea secuti oratores eloquentiae laudem sint adepti, sed, quae sua sponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quosdam obseruasse atque id egisse; sic esse non eloquentiam ex artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia natum; quod tamen, ut ante dixi, non eicio; est enim, etiam si minus necessarium ad bene dicendum, tamen ad cognoscendum non illiberale. (De Orat. 1, 32, 146). But Cicero goes a step farther than Augustine for he also says (*ibid.*

plodder, we do not consider them of such value that we wish the mature, or even the later years of life, to be spent in their acquisition. It is enough that this be the concern of the young, and not even of all whom we wish trained for service in the Church, but of those whose attention is not required by a more pressing duty, and one which ought unquestionably to take precedence of this study. For in the case of a keen and ardent nature, eloquence will come more readily through reading and hearing the eloquent, than through pursuing the rules of eloquence. Nor is the Church wanting in its own literature, even apart from the Canon which is with saving grace fixed in the place of supreme authority; and if a man of ability use this literature, although he has no further aim, but is occupied only with the matter which he finds there, even while he is attending to this alone, he becomes imbued with the eloquence of its diction. This is even especially the case if he adds practice in writing, or dictating, or too, even in speaking his views as guided by the rule of righteousness and faith. But if such ability be wanting, either the precepts of rhetoric will not be grasped, or if by dint of great labor they are grasped to some degree at least, they will be of no avail. For indeed even the very ones who have learned them, and express themselves fluently and elegantly, cannot all, when they are talking, think of these rules,

1, 34, 156): intuendi nobis sunt non solum oratores sed etiam actores, ne mala consuetudine ad aliquam deformitatem prauitatemque ueniamus.

7. **adhaeret** with dat.: Poetic, Silver, and Late. See T. L. L. I, 635, 77-84; 636, 1-19.

11. **intentus:** Cicero uses *intentus*, 'attentive to,' but with *ad* and the accusative: cf. Phil. 11, 9: intentus animus tuus est ad fortissimum uirum liberandum. Sall. and Livy use it, however, with the dative: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 316.

eloquio = *eloquentia:* Poetic and Silver.

12. **accedente . . . exercitatione . . . sentit:** cf. De Orat. 2, 23, 96: hanc igitur similitudinem qui imitatione adsequi uolet, quom exercitationibus crebris atque magnis tum scribendo maxume persequatur. See also *ibid.* 1, 33, 150.

uel maxime: *uel* with the superlative does not occur in prose before Cicero: cf. St.-Schm. 463. Note in De Leg. 1, 52: in uoluptate spernenda et repudianda uirtus uel maxime cernitur.

16. **aliquid** = *quidquam*, as also in several places in the Confessions: Late. See K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm. 483; Juret 36; Bonnet 304.

quandoquidem, causal, is often used by Plautus and Terence; sometimes by Cicero, though not in the orations; more often in Silver and Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 740.

17. **non omnes . . . dicunt** seems to imply the practice of extempore speaking: cf. Deferrari 111.

19. **si non** = *nisi*, first in the poets (Ov., Val. Fl., Juv.), and often in Late Lat., probably under the influence of the Greek εἰ μή. See St.-Schm. 777.

qui utrumque possint, et dicere bene, et ad hoc faciendum praecepta illa dicendi cogitare cum dicunt. cauendum est enim ne fugiant ex animo quae dicenda sunt, dum attenditur ut arte dicantur. et tamen in sermonibus atque dictionibus eloquentium, impleta reperiuntur praecepta eloquentiae, de quibus illi ut eloquerentur uel cum eloquerentur, non cogitauerunt, siue illa didicissent siue ne attigissent quidem. implent quippe illa quia eloquentes sunt, non adhibent, ut sint eloquentes.

5. Quapropter, cum ex infantibus loquentes non fiant nisi locutiones discendo loquentium, cur eloquentes fieri non possint nulla eloquendi arte tradita sed elocutiones eloquentium legendo et audiendo, et, quantum assequi conceditur, imitando? quid, quod ita fieri ipsis quoque experimur exemplis? nam sine praeceptis rhetoricis nouimus plurimos eloquentiores plurimis qui illa didicerunt; sine lectis uero et auditis eloquentium disputationibus uel dictionibus, neminem. nam neque ipsa arte grammatica, qua discitur locutionis integritas, indigerent pueri, si eis inter homines, qui integre

1 possunt *E.* et (ad) *om. Mig.* hoc *om. E.* 2 si non de his . . . cum dicunt *om. I*; utrumque . . . cum dicunt *om. sed add. in marg. F.* 4 atque]siue *E.* 5 ut eloquerentur]ut loquerentur *BE.* 6 uel cum eloquerentur *om. EI.* 9 non fiant eloquentes *E.* 10 discendo loquentium]eloquentium discendo *B.* possunt *ABCDEFI.* 11 sed et *E.* elocutiones eloquentium]elocutionum *CG*; eloquentium *om. H*; loquendo ergo *add. E.* 12 quid, quod]quod quidem *E.* 13 experimur]ea perimus *F.* 14 plurimos]plures *DE.* 15 electis *D.* 16 nam neque] namque *I.* elocutionis *A.*

3. **attenditur ut:** T. L. L. cites *attendo* (act.) with *ut* and the subj. for Plin., Porph. Hor., Verg. Vulg., Bened. The impersonal use of *attendo* is not cited: cf. T. L. L. II, 1122, 18-23.

4. **et tamen** occurs from Plautus on: cf. St.-Schm. 671; K.-Schm. s. v. Its use is frequent in this treatise.

dictionibus, 'declamations', is used by Cicero, then in Silver and Late writers: cf. T. L. L. V, 1006, 53–1007, 6.

eloquentium . . . eloquentiae . . . eloquerentur: note the figure of derivation: Paragmenon.

6. **siue didicissent:** cf. De Orat. 1, 20, 91: eloquentissimos autem homines, qui ista nec didicissent nec omnino scisse curassent, innumerabiles quosdam nominabat.

7. **ne attigissent quidem:** cf. *ibid.* 1, 19, 87: quae isti rhetores ne primoribus quidem labris attigissent.

implent, . . . eloquentes: note Cicero's expression of the same thought, cited above (De Orat. 1, 32, 146): . . . sic esse non eloquentiam ex artificio, sed artificium ex eloquentia natum, etc.

quippe = *enim*, in Plaut., Ter.; not uncommonly in Cicero; in Sall., Livy; often in Late writers: cf. St.-Schm. 681; Arts 71. It occurs frequently below.

9. **locutiones discendo:** the use of the accusative after an ablative of the gerund is found to some extent in Early Latin, in the poets, and in Silver Latin, but it becomes common in Late writers: cf. St.-Schm. 596-7.

10. **cur eloquentes . . . imitando:** cf. De Orat. 2, 22, 90: ergo hoc sit primum in praeceptis meis, ut de-

in order to speak in accordance with them, unless the discussion be on the rules themselves. Nay more, I believe there are scarcely any who can do both things, viz., speak well, and in order to do so, think of the rules of oratory while speaking. For they have to be careful not to forget what they want to say, while they are attending to saying it according to theory. And yet, the rules of eloquence are found fully exemplified in the speeches and discourses of the eloquent, even though to arrive at that eloquence, or in the midst of that eloquence, these men did not think of them, whether indeed they had ever learned them, or whether perhaps they had not even slightly engaged in them. For they exemplify them because they are eloquent; they do not use them to become eloquent.

5. Wherefore, as children do not learn to talk except by listening to the talking of those who talk, why cannot men learn to be orators not by studying the rules of oratory, but by reading and listening to the orations of orators, and, in as far as it is possible, by imitating them? Is it not true that in actual experience we find that this is so? For we know many who are more eloquent without the rules of rhetoric than many who have learned them, but none who are eloquent without having read and heard the discussions and speeches of the eloquent. Children, for instance, would not even need the very rules of grammar, through which the purity of speech is attained, if they had the opportunity of growing up and living

monstremus quem imitetur atque ita ut, quae maxume excellent in eo, quem imitabitur, ea diligentissime persequatur.

14. **plurimos . . . plurimis:** superlatives, used merely with positive force.

15. **sine lectis . . . et auditis . . . disputationibus,** instead of the classical ablative absolute, evidently in order to balance by anaphora the preceding member of the antithesis, *sine praeceptis*. *Sine* with the past participle is used once by Seneca (Vit. Beat. 10, 1), four times by Livy, and is cited for Cyprian and Arnobius, among Late writers: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm. 608.

16. **neque** = *non*, in Early Latin; in Cic. De Leg. 3, 9; occasionally in Vergil, Livy, Pliny, and frequently in Late writers: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 817; St.-Schm. 640. Arts (67) notes its frequent use in the Confessions. See also below: 7, 20; 12, 28; 15, 32; 18, 35; 24, 53; 26, 57; 28, 61.

arte: Cicero not infrequently uses the genitive with *indigeo;* but Augustan and Late writers often prefer the ablative. Adams (29) notes eight examples of this usage in the Letters of St. Ambrose. See also K.-Steg. II, 1, 468; St.-Schm. 408. Note this below in 23, 52; 25, 55.

loquerentur crescere daretur et uiuere. nescientes quippe ulla nomina uitiorum, quidquid uitiosum cuiusquam ore loquentis audirent, sana sua consuetudine reprehenderent et cauerent, sicut rusticos urbani reprehendunt, etiam qui litteras nesciunt.

4, 6. Debet igitur diuinarum scripturarum tractator et doctor, defensor rectae fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere et mala dedocere, atque in hoc opere conciliare aduersos, remissos erigere, nescientibus quod agitur, quid exspectare debeant intimare. ubi autem beneuolos, intentos, dociles aut inuenerit aut ipse fecerit, caetera peragenda sunt, sicut postulat causa. si docendi sunt qui audiunt, narratione faciendum est, si tamen indigeat, ut res de qua

2 uitiorum *BCEFGHI* (*Bad. Am. Er. et septem MSS.* [*Maur.*]). cuiusque *E.* 7 docere *D.* auersos *ABCFG.* 8 quod agitur] quid agatur *Maur.* 10 sicut causa postulat *I.*

1. **crescere daretur:** the infinitive with *daretur* is not used in classical prose, but occurs in the best representatives of the Silver period: Tacitus, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, and Quintilian. See K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm. 580, 583.

nescientes . . . nomina: *nesciens* is Silver and Late Latin for class. *nescius.* See K.-Schm. s. v. *Nescire* with the accusative of a person or thing is mostly Poetic. This appears again in 4, 6; 5, 7.

2. **ore:** one would expect *ex ore,* but there is no authority for a preposition in my MSS., nor in the Benedictine text.

4. *An outline of the 'officia'—dialectical and rhetorical—of the Christian orator.*

5. **tractator:** Late. Cited for Sid., Hier., Spart., Sulp. Sev. See also Aug. Serm. 270, 3: scripturarum tractatores dicimus: cf. For. s. v.

6. **defensor rectae fidei ac debellator erroris:** as will be seen below, the foundation of Augustine's offices is entirely classical; the spirit is wholly Christian; the result is a new rhetorical ideal.

debellator: rare, mostly Poetic and Late: cf. T. L. L. V, 83, 74-75; 84, 17.

et bona docere et mala dedocere: note again how naturally A. falls into the figurative language of the schools: Paronomasia.

7. **conciliare . . . erigere . . . intimare:** the traditional *officia oratoris,* derived from Aristotle, and accepted by Cicero, Quintilian, etc.: cf. De Orat. 2, 28, 121: quibus ex locis ad eas tris res, quae ad fidem faciendam solae ualent, ducatur oratio, ut et concilientur animi, et doceantur, et moueantur. *Ibid.* 2, 77, 310: tribus rebus homines ad nostram sententiam perducimus, aut docendo aut conciliando aut permouendo. See also De Orat. 2, 27, 115; Brut. 49, 185; De Opt. Gen. 1, 3; *ibid.* 5, 16.

8. **intimare** is Late. Augustine generally uses the common Ciceronian *docere. Intimare,* here, makes an interesting mingling of the old and the new.

10. **sicut postulat causa:** a favorite Ciceronian expression: cf. De Orat. 1, 42, 202: quemcumque in animis hominum motum res et causa postulet; Orat. 21, 70; *ibid.* 33, 117, etc.

si docendi sunt, etc.: the in-

with men who talked correctly. For though ignorant of the names of mistakes in speech, they would recognize whatever was faulty in the language of another, and would, because of their own good usage, criticise it and guard against it; just as city people, even when unlettered, criticise country people.

4, 6. It is the duty, then, of the student and teacher of the Holy Scriptures, who is the defender of the true Faith, and the opponent of error, both to teach what is right, and to correct what is wrong; and in this function of discourse, to conciliate the hostile, to arouse the careless, and to inform those ignorant of the matter in hand, what they ought to expect. But when he finds his audience kindly disposed, attentive, and docile, or when he has himself made them so, the rest must be carried out as each case demands. If his hearers need information, the matter under discussion must be made clear by giving the history of the question, if indeed that is wanting. On the other hand, to make clear a doubtful matter, there is need of argument and the presentation of evidence. But if the audience

struments of *docere* are exposition (*narratione*) and proof (*documentis adhibitis ratiocinandum est*), which are the matter, as Augustine will explain below, of the *genus submissum*, the 'plain style'; the instruments of *mouere* are entreaty, reproach, upbraiding (*obsecrationes*, etc.), and the style accommodated to these is *genus sublime*, 'grand'. Note the intended omission of *conciliare* as an object in oratory. The fact is that Augustine is here recognizing the time-honored conception of the means of persuasion, established by Aristotle: the pragmatic or dialectical (*πίστεις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι* = *docere* with its *narratio* and *documenta*), and the rhetorical, properly so-called, *i. e.* those means which lie outside of the facts, and look especially to emotional effect on the hearers (*πρὸς τὸν ἀκρυατήν* = *mouere* with its *obsecrationes*, etc.). *Conciliare*, in Aristotle, has a subordinate place under the means: *πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν*. This interpretation of persuasion as twofold was carried on by the Peripatetic school, and thence was accepted by Dionysius, Auct. ad Her., and Cicero, etc. Augustine recognizes it here, as also in Contr. Cresc. 1, 13, 16, and in De Dial. 7. In Contr. Cresc., however, he draws such a sharp distinction between these two aspects of persuasion as to make one feel that he is separating them not merely as different phases of rhetoric, but as different arts: dialectic (subtiliter argute que disserere, hoc est dialectice), and rhetoric (copiose ornateque explicare, hoc est eloquenter). In reality they form, in his larger conception, the *officia oratoris*, including as was the custom of the schools somewhat before Cicero's time, and from his time on, a third, *conciliare*, recognized, especially by Augustine, as of vastly less importance than the other two, but a convenient middle ground between the extremes of dialectic and impassioned prose.

11. **si tamen** = 'if only' or 'if indeed': Poetic and Silver. The subjunctive is cited first for Columella: cf. St.-Schm. 782; K.-Steg. II, 2, 429,

agitur innotescat. ut autem quae dubia sunt certa fiant, documentis adhibitis ratiocinandum est. si uero qui audiunt mouendi sunt potius quam docendi, ut in eo quod iam sciunt, agendo non torpeant, et rebus assensum, quas ueras esse fatentur, accomodent, maioribus dicendi uiribus opus est. ibi obsecrationes et increpationes, concitationes et coercitiones, et quaecumque alia ualent ad commouendos animos, sunt necessaria, et haec quidem cuncta quae dixi, omnes fere homines in iis quae loquendo agunt, facere non quiescunt.

5, 7. Sed cum alii faciant obtuse, deformiter, frigide, alii acute, ornate, uehementer, illum ad hoc opus unde agimus, iam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare uel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest eloquenter, ut prosit audientibus, etiamsi minus quam prodesset, si et eloquenter posset dicere. qui uero adfluit insipienti eloquentia, tanto magis cauendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis

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2 si]qui *G.* 4 et ut *A.* 5 maioribus uiribus dicendi *E.* ubi *CEGHI.* 6 concinationes *E.* ualent *om. E.* 7 sunt *om. E.* haec *om. D.* 8 his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E.* eloquendo *Maur.* uel arguunt *supra* agunt *H*; (quae loquendo arguunt *duo MSS.* [*Maur.*]). 10 faciant alii *EI.* 11 agimus oportet accedere iam *G.* 13 prosit]possit *AE.* 14 et si *E.* possit *F.* 15 his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E.*

12. *Si tamen* occurs also in 5, 8, but with the indicative.

5. **increpationes**: Late.

6. **coercitiones**: Silver and Late: cf. Sen. Dial. 4, 28, 1: indignamur aliqua admonitione aut coercitione nos castigatos; Amb. exc. Sat. 1, 41, p. 1303 b; Aug. Epist. 155: cf. T. L. L. III, 1438, 16-75.

7. **cuncta** = *omnia*, became common in Silver and Late Latin: cf. T. L. L. IV, 1401, 34—1402, 43.

9. **quiescunt** = *desinunt:* very rare; used by Plaut. (cf. Most. 5, 2, 51: quiesce hanc rem modo petere) and then in Late Latin. See St.-Schm. 581.—For a definition of Cicero's ideal orator, see De Orat. 1, 15, 64; Orat. 2, 7-9; De Orat. 1, 8, 31; *ibid.* 2, 8, 34; and especially the following grand passage of De Orat. 1, 46, 202: sed eum uirum [conquirimus], qui primum sit eius artis antistes, cuius cum ipsa natura magnam homini facultatem daret, tamen esse deus putatur, ut id ipsum, quod erat hominis proprium, non partum per nos, sed diuinitus ad nos delatum uideretur; deinde, qui possit non tam caduceo quam nomine oratoris ornatus incolumis uel inter hostium tela uersari; tum, qui scelus fraudemque nocentis possit dicendo subicere odio ciuium supplicioque constringere; idemque ingenii praesidio innocentiam iudiciorum poena liberare; idemque languentem labentemque populum aut ad decus excitare aut ab errore deducere aut inflammare in improbos aut incitatum in bonos mitigare; qui denique, quemcumque in animis hominum motum res et causa postulet, eum dicendo uel excitare posset uel sedare.

5. *'Sapientia' vs. 'eloquentia': the acquisition of 'sapientia', through a study of Holy Scripture; the acquisition of 'eloquentia', through imitation of those who possess both eloquence and wisdom.*

10. **obtuse** = 'bluntly': besides for this passage, cited only for Schol. Pers. 5, 61: cf. Georges and Benoist-Goelz. s. v.

deformiter = 'inelegantly': used also by Quint., Apul., Aug. De

needs to be aroused rather than to be informed, in order that they may not be slow in living up to what they already know, and that they may give their assent to what they are convinced is true, greater powers of oratory are required. In such a case, entreaties and reproaches, exhortations and compulsion, and every other means conductive to stirring the heart, are necessary. And indeed, every one of the methods which I have enumerated are continually made use of by nearly all men in their efforts in speaking.

5, 7. But as some do this bluntly, inelegantly, and coldly, while others, with tact, elegance, and force, the important thing now is that the instruction of which we speak, be made the business of one who, even though he has no powers of eloquence, does possess *wisdom* in arguing and speaking, so that he may do good to his audience, even though that be less than if he could at the same time use eloquence in speaking. But a man who has merely an

Ciu. Dei 10, 17: cf. T. L. L. V, 369, 46-52.

11. **unde** = *de quo:* the pronominal adverb in place of a pronoun in an oblique case occurs often in Early Latin, in legal speech, and generally in Late Latin and the Romance languages. It seems to have belonged to the popular idiom, and thence to have passed into the literary language: cf. St.-Schm. 491-92; Salonius 211. See this usage below in 7, 13; 18, 37; 20, 41; 21, 45.

14. **et** = 'also', largely from Livy on. See also St.-Schm. 661-62. It occurs twenty or more times below.

qui . . . adfluit insipienti eloquentia: cf. De Orat. 1, 12, 50: haec autem oratio, si res non subest ab oratore percepta et cognita, aut nulla sit necesse est aut omnium irrisione ludatur. quid est enim tam furiosum quam uerborum uel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia? Also *ibid.* 1, 12, 53; and *ibid.* 1, 6, 20: et enim ex rerum cognitione ecflorescat et redundet oportet oratio; quae nisi subest res ab oratore percepta et cognita, inanem quandem habet elocutionem et paene puerilem. See also De Orat. 1, 18, 83; 1, 20, 92; 3, 35, 142. Augustine—as also Cicero—is here harking back to Aristotle's distinction between pragmatic, or dialectical persuasion (*sapienter*), and emotional, or ornamental (*eloquenter*)—*πίστεις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι* and *τὰ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων*. Both Cicero and Augustine necessarily recognize with Aristotle that *res* (*τὰ πράγματα*) —dialectic—is fundamental and essential, without which eloquence is something empty and false. This was far from what was being accepted in practice, however, in Augustine's time. His fourth century readers had no trouble in recognizing, therefore, his attack, indirect as it is, on the Sophists, who from the earliest times were wont to dissociate *res* (philosophy, *i. e.* dialectic—*sapientia*) and *ornatus* (rhetoric—*eloquentia*): cf. Cicero's characterization of the Sophists (Orat. 19, 65): sophistarum, de quibus supra dixi, magis distinguenda similitudo uidetur, qui omnes eosdem uolunt flores, quos adhibet orator in causis, persequi. sed hoc differunt quod, cum sit his propositum non perturbare animos, sed placare potius nec tam persuadere quam delectare, et apertius id faciunt quam nos et crebrius, *concinnas magis sententias exquirunt quam probabiles, a re saepe discedunt,* intexunt fabulas, uerba altius transferunt eaque ita disponunt ut pictores uarietatem co-

quae audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, et eum quoniam diserte dicere audit, etiam uere dicere existimat. haec autem sententia nec illos fugit, qui artem rhetoricam docendam putarunt; fassi sunt enim sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse ciuitatibus, eloquentiam uero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse numquam. si hoc ergo illi qui praecepta eloquentiae tradiderunt, in eisdem libris in quibus id egerunt, ueritate instigante coacti sunt confiteri, ueram, id est, supernam quae a Patre luminum descendit, sapientiam nescientes, quanto magis nos non aliud sentire debemus, qui huius sapientiae filii et ministri sumus? sapienter autem dicit homo tanto magis uel minus, quanto in scripturis sanctis magis minusue proficit. non dico in eis multum legendis memoriaeque mandandis sed bene intellegendis et diligenter earum sensibus indagandis, sunt enim qui eas legunt, et neglegunt; legunt ut teneant, neglegunt ne intellegant. quibus longe sine dubio praeferendi sunt qui uerba earum minus tenent, et cor earum sui cordis oculis uident. sed utrisque ille melior, qui et cum uolet eas dicit, et sicut oportet intellegit.

1 eum]cum *ABCDEI*. quoniam]quem *H*. deserti (disserte *in marg.*) *F*. 2 uera *B*. 3 fessi *B*. 4 enim]autem *E*. (ciuibus *Lou.*; ciuitatibus *alii editi et MSS.* [*Maur.*]). 6 hoc *om. E*; si ergo hoc *Maur.* 7 legerunt *D*. 10 huius *om. A*. 11 homo dicit *I*. quanto magis *A*. 12 magis]maius *A*. profecit *DEG Maur.* 14 et neglegunt legunt *om. E*. 15 ne]ut *E*. 16 cor eorum *F*. 17 uolet]uult et *A*. eis *I*.

lorum, paria paribus referunt, aduersa contrariis saepissimeque similiter extrema definiunt.

adfluit = 'to be rich in', occurs frequently in Cicero, who even employs it at times with a person as subject, *e. g.* Sest. 18: consul unguentis adfluens. This use, however, seems to belong particularly to Early and Late Latin: cf. Plaut. Pseud. 191: ut frumento adfluam. See T. L. L. I, 1243, 37-52.

3. **nec** = *ne quidem*, does not appear in Early Latin, is very rare in the classical period, but is found in Livy, the Augustan poets, in Silver Latin, and frequently in Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 641; K.-Steg. II, 2, 44. For this occurrence below, see 14, 31; 18, 35; 20, 40; 28, 61.

4. **sapientiam sine eloquentia, etc.**: cf. De Inuent. 1, 1, 1: ac me quidem diu cogitantem ratio ipsa in hanc potissimum sententiam ducit, ut existimem *sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse ciuitatibus, eloquentiam uero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse nunquam.* quare si quis omissis rectissimis atque honestissimis studiis rationis et officii consumit omnem operam in exercitatione dicendi, is inutilis sibi, perniciosus patriae ciuis alitur; qui uero ita sese armat eloquentia, ut non oppugnare commoda patriae, sed pro his propugnare possit, is mihi uir et suis et publicis rationibus utilissimus atque amicissimus ciuis fore uidetur.

8. **supernam** = 'supernal,' 'celestial', is cited for Ovid, Lucan, and Late writers.

a Patre luminum descendit: cf. Iac. 1, 17: omne datum optimum . . . desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum.

12. **magis . . . proficit**: *magis* for

empty flow of eloquence, ought to be the more guarded against as he is the more pleasing to his audience in those matters which have no expedience, and as, since his audience hears him speak with fluency, it judges that he likewise speaks with truth. This view, indeed, did not escape even those who considered rhetorical training necessary, for they hold that wisdom without eloquence is of small avail to a country, but that eloquence without wisdom is generally a great hindrance, and never a help. If, therefore, those who have given us the rules of oratory, in the very books in which they have treated this subject are forced through the urgency of truth to make this confession, ignorant as they are of the true, that is, of the supernal wisdom which comes down from the Father of lights, how much more are we, who are the children and the ministers of this wisdom, under obligation to hold no other opinion! But a man speaks with more or less wisdom as he is the more or less versed in the Holy Scriptures—I do not mean in the very copious reading and memorizing of them, but in the true understanding and the careful investigation of their meaning. For there are some who read them, but indifferently; they read them in order to memorize them, but they are indifferent to understanding them. There can be no question but that they by far deserve the preference who know them less, word for word, but who look into the heart of the Scriptures, with the eyes of their own hearts. But he is better than either of these, who both quotes them at will, and understands them as he ought.

plus, as often in the later Latinity: cf. Goel. (2) 683.

14. **sensibus:** *sensus* = *significatio*, is Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. Quint. 8, 2: ambiguitas quae turbare potest sensum, etc.

sunt . . . qui eas legunt: the indicative with *sunt qui*, most probably of vulgar origin, is found in Early Latin, *e. g.* Plaut. Tri. 91: sunt quos scio esse amicos; in Cicero's early work and Letters; occasionally in the poets and Silver writers; and in Late Latin, especially in authors affecting the archaic (Apul., Gell., etc.) and in the grammarians; cf. St.-Schm. 712. It is used below in 9, 23; 29, 62.

15. **teneant** =' remember ': cf. Plaut. Pers. 2, 2, 1: satin' haec meministi et tenes? Verg. Ecl. 9, 45: numeros memini, si uerba tenerem. Cicero uses *tenere*, but with *memoriam:* cf. Cat. 3, 8; Fam. 6, 2. Horace, Quintilian, and Seneca the Younger, however, use *tenere* alone: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

neglegunt ne: for *neglego ne* = *securus*, cf. Hor. Carm. 3, 8, 25: neglegens ne qua populus laboret.

16. **cor** = ' soul ', is Eccl.: cf. T. L. L. IV, 930, 17-25.

17. **cum uolet:** the future dependent on a present indicative is unusual in a clause of contemporaneous time: cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 144-45.

8. Huic ergo qui sapienter debet dicere, etiam quod non potest eloquenter, uerba scripturarum tenere maxime necessarium est. quanto enim se pauperiorem cernit in suis, tanto eum oportet in istis esse ditiorem, ut quod dixerit suis uerbis, probet ex illis, et qui propriis uerbis minor erat, magnorum testimonio quodammodo crescat. probando enim delectat qui minus potest delectare dicendo. porro qui non solum sapienter, uerum etiam eloquenter uult dicere, quoniam profecto plus proderit, si utrumque potuerit, ad legendos uel audiendos et exercitatione imitandos eloquentes eum mitto libentius, quam magistris artis rhetoricae uacare praecipio: si tamen ii qui leguntur et audiuntur, non solum eloquenter, sed etiam sapienter dixisse uel dicere ueraci praedicatione laudantur. qui enim eloquenter dicunt, suauiter; qui sapienter, salubriter audiuntur. propter quod non ait scriptura, "multitudo eloquentium", sed *multitudo sapientium sanitas est orbis terrarum.* Sap. 6, 26 sicut autem saepe sumenda sunt et amara salubria, ita semper uitanda est perniciosa dulcedo. sed salubri suauitate uel suaui salubritate quid melius? quanto enim magis illic appetitur suauitas, tanto facilius salubritas prodest. sunt ergo ecclesiastici uiri qui diuina eloquia non solum sapienter, sed eloquenter etiam tractauerunt,

1 huic etiam *E*. quod]qui *E*. 2 maxime uerba scripturarum tenere necessarium *H*. 3 in suis cernit *E*. 4 oportet eum esse in istis *E*. 5 propriis] ipsius *H*. 10 magistros *F*. 11 hii *ACEF*; hi *BDGHI*. 14 frustra *add. supra* ait *alia m. F*. 15 multitudo eloquentium sed *om. F*. 16 autem]enim *E*. 17 salubri]salubria *A*. suaui]suauia *A*. 18 quid quod *I*. 19 facilius *in marg. alia m. B*. prodest salubritas *E*.

4. **ex illis**: the idea of 'means' is strong here, though linked with that of 'place from which': whence the preposition. The ablative with *ex*, to express means, is a development of Late Latin: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 505; St.-Schm. 437; 528-29. See this use below in 23, 52; 27, 60.

8. **ad legendos . . . mitto libentius:** cf. De Orat. 2, 20, 85: quare ego tibi oratorem sic iam instituam, si potero, ut quid efficere possit ante perspiciam. sit enim mihi tinctus litteris; audierit aliquid, legerit, ista ipsa praecepta acceperit; temptabo quid deceat, quid uoce, quid uiribus, quid spiritu, quid lingua efficere possit.

10. **magistris artis rhetoricae:** oratory degenerated into mere theatrical declamation, after Tiberius by the abolition of the assemblies closed to the orator his proper field. Schools of rhetoric became increasingly popular, but their professors through the superficiality and insincerity of their methods brought the name of 'rhetorician' into ill-repute. Though Quintilian and Tacitus did their part to reclaim rhetoric from the excesses to which it had passed in their day, their influence was outweighed in the second and succeeding centuries by that of the Greek rhetors and sophists, so popular in those years. It is no wonder, therefore, that Augustine, feeling the distrust with which his age regarded rhetoricians, should be on his guard to explain his meaning in regard to them. See Norden 351 ff.; Lezat 11-12, 14, for a conve-

8. And so, for one who should speak with wisdom, even for the very reason that he cannot do so with eloquence, it is absolutely necessary that he remember the words of the Scriptures. For in as much as he sees himself poor in his own resources, in so much the more does it behoove him to be rich in those of the Scriptures, that what he says in his own words, he may prove by the Scriptures; and that he who was of little importance in his own words may gain, in some measure, from the authority of the great. For by his proofs he satisfies, even though he cannot satisfy by his bare statements. Furthermore, the man who wishes to speak not only with wisdom but also with eloquence, since indeed he will do more good if he be able to do both, I rather send to read or hear the eloquent, and to imitate them by practice, than advise to give his time to professors of rhetoric; on this condition, however, that those who are read and heard be recommended, in all truth, as men who have spoken and who speak not only with eloquence, but also with wisdom. For those who speak eloquently are listened to with pleasure; those who speak with wisdom are heard with profit. Wherefore, the Scripture does not say, "The multitude of the eloquent," but *The multitude of the wise is the welfare of the whole world.* But as often even bitter medicine must be taken, so always harmful sweets must be avoided. Still, what is better than wholesome sweets or sweet wholesomeness? For the greater the desire of sweets in such a case, the more readily does their wholesomeness prove beneficial. So there are churchmen who have expounded Sacred Scripture not only with wisdom, but also with eloquence;

nient summary of the conditions of oratory and rhetoric from Tiberius to Augustine. Cicero reflects the contempt of his time for *isti rhetores*, in the words which he ascribes to the Athenian Menedemus in De Orat. 1, 19, 87: ipsa uero praecepta sic illudere solebat, ut ostenderet non modo eos expertes esse illius prudentiae [*i. e.* philosophiae], quam sibi adsciscerent, sed ne hanc quidem ipsam dicendi rationem ac uiam nosse. *Ibid.* 1, 20, 91: nam primum quasi dedita opera neminem scriptorem artis ne mediocriter quidem disertum fuisse dicebat, quom repeteret usque a Corace nescio quo et Tisia, quos artis illius inuentores et principes fuisse constaret; eloquentissimos autem homines, qui ista nec didicissent nec omnino scisse curassent, innumerabilis quosdam nominabat.

11. **eloquenter . . . sapienter . . . salubriter:** Augustine's fondness for adverbs is a characteristic of Late Latin: cf. Parsons 76.

17. **sed salubri suauitate, uel suaui salubritate:** notice how A. has enforced his figure of metathesis (*salubri suauitate . . . suaui salubritate*) by alliteration and assonance: *sed salubri . . . uel suaui.*

quibus legendis magis non sufficit tempus quam deesse ipsi studentibus et uacantibus possunt.

6, 9. Hic aliquis forsitan quaerit utrum auctores nostri, quorum scripta diuinitus inspirata canonem nobis saluberrima auctoritate fecerunt, sapientes tantummodo, an eloquentes etiam nuncupandi sint. quae quidem quaestio apud meipsum et apud eos qui mecum quod dico sentiunt, facillime soluitur. nam ubi eos intellego, non solum nihil eis sapientius, uerum etiam nihil eloquentius mihi uideri potest. et audeo dicere omnes qui recte intellegunt quod illi loquuntur, simul intellegere non eos aliter loqui debuisse. sicut est enim quaedam eloquentia quae magis aetatem iuuenilem decet, est quae senilem, nec iam dicenda est eloquentia, si personae non congruat eloquentis; ita est quaedam, quae uiros summa auctoritate dignissimos planeque diuinos decet. hac illi locuti sunt, nec ipsos decet alia, nec alios ipsa; ipsis enim congruit; alios autem, quanto, uidetur humilior, tanto altius non uentositate, sed soliditate transcendit. ubi uero non eos intellego, minus quidem mihi apparet eorum eloquentia, sed eam non dubito esse talem, qualis est ubi intellego. ipsa quoque obscuritas diuinorum salubriumque dictorum tali eloquentiae miscenda fuerat, in qua proficere noster intellectus, non solum inuentione, ueram etiam exercitatione deberet.

10. Possem quidem, si uacaret, omnes uirtutes et ornamenta eloquentiae, de quibus inflantur isti qui linguam suam nostrorum

1 quibus legendis non sufficit magis tempus *D*. ipsis *ABCDEI*. 2 euacantibus *D*; baccantibus *E*. ponunt *E*; possint *G*. 4 scripta]scriptura *E*. canones *E*. 6 sunt *BCDEFGHI*. 8 etiam]et *E*. 9 nihil eis sapientius mihi uideri potest, uerum etiam nihil eloquentius *A*. 10 loqui aliter *F*. 11 sicut enim est *AE*; sicut autem est *CGHI*. aetate *I*. 12 congruit *A*. 14 hanc *E*. 17 uere *F*. 18 eloquentiae *A*. eam *om*. *C*; eam tamen *Maur.* talis *E*.

1. **quibus legendis . . . possunt:** literally: and for the reading of these, time no more suffices than their works can possibly be exhausted by students and those at leisure.

studentibus: *studere* = ‘to study’, only from Silver Latin on. Cicero uses *litteris* or *arti studere.*

6. *‘Sapientia’, in the sacred writers, is aided by an ‘eloquentia’ all their own, founded on that of the secular schools, but superior to it, because adapted to their character as ‘sapientes’, and to the ‘sapientia’ of their discourse.*

3. **forsitan quaerit:** *forsitan* with the indicative, is Poetic and Late. It does not become frequent until Min. Felix, Jerome, Sulp. Sev., and other Eccl. writers: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 811; St.-Schm. 572; Arts 83.

12. **nec iam dicenda est eloquentia, etc.:** the principle of ‘fittingness’: cf. Orat. 21, 71: est autem quid deceat oratori uidendum non in sententiis solum sed etiam in uerbis. non enim omnis fortuna, non omnis honos, non omnis auctoritas, non omnis aetas nec uero locus aut tempus aut auditor omnis eodem aut uerborum genere tractandus est aut sententiarum semperque in omni parte orationis ut uitae quid deceat est conside-

and for reading these, students and those at leisure have not sufficient time in which to exhaust them.

6, 9. Here, someone perhaps may ask whether our authors, whose divinely inspired writings, with saving authority, make up the Canon for us, should be ranked merely as wise, or also as eloquent men. For myself, and for those whose opinions are the same as mine, this question is, of course, easily settled. For when I understand them, it seems to me that nothing can have more wisdom or even more eloquence. And I venture to state this also, that all who rightly understand what these writers say, understand too that they could not have spoken otherwise. For as there is a certain eloquence which is more becoming to youth, and a certain one to old age; and as eloquence does not deserve the name, if it be not in accord with the person who speaks, so there is a certain eloquence suitable to men especially worthy of the highest authority, and who are clearly inspired. With such eloquence have our authors spoken. No other is fitting to them, nor is theirs, to others; for it perfectly accords with them; but as it seems the more lowly, so it the more highly transcends others, not by its inflation, but by its solidity. Where, however, I do not understand these writers, then indeed their eloquence is less apparent to me, but still I doubt not but that it is such as it is where I do understand them. Indeed, that very obscurity of the divine and saving writings had, of necessity, to be mingled with such eloquence whereby our minds should profit, not only through the working out of their meaning, but also through the practice of their art.

[illegible]
[illegible] 8:2

10. All the merits and beauties of eloquence, about which those

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randum; quod et in re, de qua agitur, positum est et in personis *et eorum qui dicunt* et eorum qui audiunt.

14. **nec ipsos . . . alia, nec alios ipsa:** an effective metathesis, due to the brevity of the clauses, and to polysyndeton.

16. **uentositate:** one of Augustine's quiet insinuations directed against the Sophists: cf. Baldwin (2) 51-54. **uentositate** = *iactantia*, is Late: cf. Fulg. Myth. 2, 17; De Ciu. Dei 9, 20: cf. Georges and Benoist-Goelz. s. v.

transcendit = 'surpass': rare; not in Cic., but found in Silver Latin, *e. g.* Sen. Troad. 702: transcendere ingenio; Sil. 3, 607: at tu transcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum: cf. Georges s. v.

19. **salubrium** = 'bringing salvation', is Eccl. Note how this meaning occurs in Augustine, side by side with the classical, 'healthful', used *e. g.* in 5, 8.

20. **intellectus** = 'comprehension': Silver.

23. **inflantur isti qui . . . praeponunt:** another quiet, but none the

auctorum linguae, non magnitudine, sed tumore praeponunt, ostendere in istorum litteris sacris, quos nobis erudiendis, et ab hoc saeculo prauo in beatum saeculum transferendis, prouidentia diuina prouidit. sed non ipsa me plus quam dici potest in eloquentia delectant, quae sunt his uiris cum oratoribus gentilium poetisue communia; illud magis admiror et stupeo, quod ista nostra eloquentia ita usi sunt per alteram quandam eloquentiam suam, ut nec deesset eis, nec emineret in eis, quia eam nec improbari ab illis, nec ostentari oportebat; quorum alterum fieret si uitaretur, alterum putari posset, si facile agnosceretur. et in quibus forte locis agnoscitur a doctis, tales res dicuntur, ut uerba quibus dicuntur, non a dicente adhibita, sed ipsis rebus uelut sponte subiuncta uideantur, quasi sapientiam de domo sua, id est, pectore sapientis procedere intellegas, et tamquam inseparabilem famulam etiam non uocatam sequi eloquentiam.

3 in saeculum beatum *E*. 5 hiis *E*. gentibus *E*. 7 eloquentiam quandam *E*. suam *om*. *CEFI*. 8 meminerit (emineret *supra alia m*.) *F*. 9 uetaretur *F*. 13 id est de *B*. 14 intelleges *D*. famulam]causam *G*. uocata *I*.

less obvious reference to Sophistic. See A.'s definition of this school, in De Doctr. Chris. 2, 31, 48: quod genus captiosarum conclusionum scriptura, quantum existimo, detestatur illo loco, ubi dictum est: *qui sophistice loquitur, odibilis est* (Ecclus. 37, 23). quamquam etiam sermo non captiosus, sed tamen abundantius quam grauitatem decet, uerborum ornamenta consectans, sophisticus dicitur.

linguam = 'style', is Poetic and Silver: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

1. **tumore** = 'bombast': Silver. Concerning the inflation of the *declamatores*, cf. Petron. Satyr. 1: haec ipsa tolerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam ituris uiam facerent: nunc et rerum tumore et sententiarum uanissimo strepitu hoc tantum proficiunt, ut cum in forum uenerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos.

ostendere in . . . litteris sacris: Augustine's tribute to the *style* of Holy Scripture. This is all the more remarkable as it was the custom of the day to disparage the literary value of the Sacred Writings. Augustine himself, in early life, had been driven from the study of the Bible by his aversion for its style; cf. Conf. 3, 5, 9: non enim sicut modo loquor, ita sensi cum attendi ad illam scripturam: sed uisa est mihi indigna quam Tullianae dignitati compararem. See Baldwin (2) 54, 59.

2. **nobis erudiendis:** dative of the gerundive to express purpose is not at all common in Early and Class. Latin. Its use gained ground after Livy, and was greatly widened by Tacitus: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 746, 749; St.-Schm. 598. It occurs again in 7, 15.

ab hoc saeculo prauo in beatum saeculum: chiasmus, followed in the next line by the figure of derivation, paragmenon: prouidentia diuina prouidit.

4. **plus** = *magis*, as often in Late Latin. See also 20, 41. Cf. note on *magis* = *plus* in 5, 7.

7. **per alteram . . . eloquentiam:** *alter* for *alius* occurs often in Late writers, due to the influence of the

critics are puffed up, who, not because of its real greatness, but because of its bombast, prefer their own language to the language of our writers, I could, if there were time, point out in the Sacred Writings of those whom Divine Providence has provided to instruct us, and to bring us from this corrupt world to the world of the blessed. But it is not the points which they have in common with the pagan orators and poets that please me more than I can say, in their eloquence; what I admire and wonder at more, is that they so use our eloquence, through another kind of eloquence, as it were, of their own, that ours is not wanting to them, and still is not conspicuous in them, for it would not be fitting for them either to reject it, or to flaunt it. The former would be the case if they avoided it, the latter might be imputed to them if they made it too noticeable. And in those places where it happens to be recognized by scholars, the subject-matter is such that the words in which it is expressed seem not to have been sought out by the writer, but seem to belong naturally to the matter itself, as if, to express a comparison, wisdom came forth from its own dwelling-place, that is, from the heart of the wise man, and eloquence, its inseparable handmaid, followed, even though uninvited.

colloquial language. Note it below in 8, 22; 25, 55. See St.-Schm. 491; Juret 37; Gabarrou 160; Bonnet 278; Goel. (1) 416, (2) 673; etc.

8. **improbari . . . agnosceretur:** notice the predominantly passive construction throughout this passage, quite in keeping with the increase in the use of the passive in Late Latin. See also 10, 25, and *passim.*

12. **uelut** = *quasi,* does not occur in Cic., but from Livy on: cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 718; St.-Schm. 783. Note the use of the classical *quasi* (l. 13), side by side with this. *Velut* is thus used also in 7, 12; 7, 16; 20, 39; 20, 41. It occurs with a noun in 7, 20.

13. **sapientiam de domo sua:** cf. Orat. 21, 70: sed est eloquentiae sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum sapientia.

de domo: *de* for *ex* with the abl., to express separation, occurs frequently in Augustine and in Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 526; Arts 29; Bonnet 607. For the distinction between *de* and *ex,* cf. T. L. L. V, 43, 47-66. The use of *de* with *procedere* is cited for Ulp. and Apul.: cf. T. L. L. V, 48, 70-71.

14. **tamquam** with a substantive is used by Cic.; but an adverb as an attribute of a substantive is at all times rare: cf. St.-Schm. 733. See below, *tamquam* with a noun: 7, 15: 7, 17; 20, 40; 23, 52; with a phrase: 18, 37; 21, 48; with an adjective: 7, 16; 26, 56.

inseparabilem: Silver and Late.

Rom. 5, 3-5

7, 11. Quis enim non uideat quid uoluerit dicere, et quam sapienter dixerit apostolus: *gloriamur in tribulationibus, scientes quia tribulatio patientiam operatur, patientia autem probationem, probatio autem spem, spes autem non confundit; quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis ?* hic si quis, ut ita dixerim, imperite peritus, artis eloquentiae praecepta apostolum secutum fuisse contendat, nonne a christianis doctis indoctisque ridebitur? et tamen agnoscitur hic figura, quae κλίμαξ graece, latine uero a quibusdam est appellata *gradatio,* quoniam *scalam* dicere noluerunt, cum uerba uel sensa conectuntur alterum ex altero; sicut hic, ex *tribulatione patientiam,* ex *patientia probationem,* ex *probatione spem* conexam uidemus. agnoscitur et aliud decus, quoniam post aliqua pronuntiationis uoce singula finita, quae nostri *membra* et *caesa,* Graeci autem κῶλα et

1 quid]quod *E.* dicere uoluerit *EI.* 2 quod *EH Ver.An. Vulg.* 3 patientiam]patientia *B.* autem]uero *E.* 4 spes autem]spes uero *E Ver.An.* Dei *om. A.* 5 datis in *G.* 6 hoc *E.* 7 secundum (secutum *supra alia m.*) *F.* 9 est *om. E*; autem *add. I.* 10 uoluerunt *A.* 12 uideamus *E.* 13 post aliqua . . . uoce]post aliquam . . . uocem *A*; post aliquam . . . uoce *EI*; post alia qua . . . uoce *D.*

7. *Analysis of the 'compositio' of St. Paul and of the Prophet Amos, by way of proof of the rhetorical, as well as of the spiritual excellence of the inspired writers.*

2. **gloriamur, etc.:** note in Introduction, page 19, that the Old Version and the Vulgate practically coincide in this passage. Augustine follows the Old Version, however, in the one word wherein they differ: probatio *autem* spem.

6. **hic si quis . . . contendat, etc.:** Norden (503), however, rightly observes that St. Paul knows well the figures of rhetoric, and half consciously, half unconsciously uses them as the occasion demands. An analysis of the preceding passage proves this. For a graphic study of Augustine's analysis which follows in this chapter, cf. Eskridge 30-36; Baldwin (2) 61-64.

imperite peritus: Oxymoron: A. falls as naturally into figurative terms as does St. Paul, in the passage just quoted.

8. **figura . . . κλίμαξ . . . gradatio:** cf. Ad Her. 4, 25, 34: gradatio est, in qua non ante ad consequens uerbum descenditur, quam ad superius conscensum est, hoc modo: 'nam quae reliqua spes manet libertatis, si illis et quod libet, licet et quod licet, possunt, et quod possunt, audent, et quod audent, faciunt, et quod faciunt, uobis molestum non est?' . . . habet in se quendam leporem superioris cuiusque crebra repetitio uerbi, quae propria est huius exornationis. Also Quint. 9, 3, 55: gradatio, quae dicitur κλίμαξ, apertiorem habet artem et magis affectatam, ideoque esse rarior debet. est autem ipsa quoque adiectionis; repetit enim, quae dicta sunt, et priusquam ad aliud descendat, in prioribus resistit.

10. **scalam** = 'ladder': used only in the plural in Caesar and Cicero; found in the sing. in Cels. 8, 15, and frequently in Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; Neue-Wagener 1, 687.

sensa = 'ideas', 'thought': used only twice by Cicero: De Orat. 1, 8, 32: exprimere dicendo sensa possumus; *ibid.* 3, 14, 55: sensa mentis et consilia explicare; in Silver Latin by Quint., *e. g.* 8, 5, 1; more often in Late Latin, *e. g.* Macr. Sat. 7, 5, 4: sensa et inuenta Disarii: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; For. s. v.

14. **singula:** *singuli,* in the singu-

7, 11. For who cannot but see what the Apostle wished to say and with what wisdom he has said it, in the following: *We glory in tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience trial; and trial hope; and hope confoundeth not: because the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost, who is given to us?* Here if anyone, unlearnedly learned, so to speak, contend that the Apostle has followed the rules of rhetoric, will he not be laughed at by Christians, cultured and uncultured alike? And still we recognize here the figure called in Greek, *κλίμαξ*, in Latin, by some, *gradatio*—a name which they prefer to *scala,* ladder—for the words or the thoughts are connected one with another, as, for example, here we see *patience* connected with *tribulation, trial* with *patience, hope* with *trial.* Another ornament, too, is recognized here, for after several elements marked off by an unbroken utterance in delivery, which we call *membra* and *caesa,* and the Greeks, *κῶλα* and *κόμματα,* there

lar, is found only once—in Plautus—in Early and Class. usage, but frequently in Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s.v. Note this again in 26, 56.

membra: cf. Ad Her. 4, 19, 26: membrum orationis appellatur res breuiter absoluta sine totius sententia demonstratione, quae denuo alio membro orationis excipitur, hoc modo: 'et inimico proderas'. id est unum, quod appellamus membrum; deinde hoc excipiatur oportet altero: 'et amicum laedebas'. ex duobus membris suis haec exornatio potest constare; sed commodissima et absolutissima est, quae ex tribus constat, hoc pacto: 'et inimico proderas et amicum laedebas et tibi non consulemus'. Quint. 9, 4, 123: membrum autem est sensus numeris conclusus sed a toto corpore abruptus et per se nihil efficiens. 'o callidos homines', perfectum est sed remotum a ceteris uim non habet, ut per se manus et pes et caput; et 'o rem excogitatam'. quando ergo incipit corpus esse? cum uenit extrema conclusio: 'quem, quaeso, nostrum fefellit, id uos ita esse facturos?'

caesa: Cicero and Quintilian use *incisum* in place of *caesum:* cf. Orat. 62, 211: transferenda tota dictio est ad illa quae nescio cur, cum Graeci *κόμματα* et *κῶλα* nominent, nos non recte incisa et membra dicamus. Quint. 9, 4, 22: incisa, quae *κόμματα* dicuntur, membra, quae *κῶλα,* etc. Quintilian's definition is as follows: incisum (quantum mea fert opinio) erit sensus non expleto numero conclusus, plerisque pars membri. tale est enim, quo Cicero utitur: 'domus tibi deerat? at habebas. pecunia superabat? at egebas'. fiunt autem etiam singulis uerbis incisa: 'diximus, testis dare uolumus;' incisum est 'dicimus' (Quint. 9, 4, 122). Among Late commentators, Aquila, Rhet. 18, says: caesum . . . est pars orationis ex duobus aut ex pluribus uerbis, non quicquam absolute significans. This agrees with Quint.'s definition of *incisum,* and Aquila does in fact mean the same, for he explains: ambitus constat ex membris . . . et ex caesis, quae *κόμματα* Graeci appellant. *Caesum* is also called *comma,* a 'pause' or 'stop': cf. T. L. L. III, 58, 37-49. Modern scholars are by no means agreed as to an explanation of the distinction made by the ancients in the meaning of *membra* and *caesa.* To some the dif-

κόμματα uocant, sequitur ambitus siue circuitus, quem περίοδον illi appellant, cuius membra suspenduntur uoce dicentis, donec ultimo finiantur. nam eorum quae praecedunt circuitum, membrum illud est primum, *quoniam tribulatio patientiam operatur;* secundum, *patientia autem probationem;* tertium, *probatio uero spem.* deinde subiungitur ipse circuitus, qui tribus peragitur membris, quorum primum est, *spes autem non confundit;* secundum, *quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris;* tertium, *per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.* at haec atque huiusmodi in elocutionis arte traduntur. sicut ergo apostolum praecepta eloquentiae secutum fuisse non dicimus, ita quod eius sapientiam secuta sit eloquentia, non negamus.

12. Scribens ad Corinthios, in secunda epistola redarguit quosdam qui erant ex Iudaeis pseudoapostoli, eique detrahebant; et quoniam seipsum praedicare compellitur, hanc sibi uelut insipientiam tribuens, quam sapienter dicit, quamque eloquenter; sed comes sapientiae, dux eloquentiae, illam sequens, istam praecedens

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3 finiatur *AD Maur.* 4 est illud primum *EI.* operatur *om. C.* 5 tertium *om. G*; tertia *F.* 7 quoniam *ABC.* 8 est *om. E.* 9 at haec atque]atque haec ac *E*; aiunt haec atque *I.* huiuscemodi *Maur.*; huius *I.* 11 eloquentiam *A.* 14 eique]neque *E.* 15 hanc]ac *F.* uel *E.* 17 illam]illa *A.*

ference lies in the length of the clause, *i. e.* they consider that the number of syllables contained in a clause determines whether it should be called a *membrum* or a *caesum.* Du Mesnil (Begriff der drei Kunstformen der Rede, etc.: Zum zweihundertjährigen Jubiläum des Gymnasiums zu Frankfort, Frankfort, 1894, pp. 32-121) holds that a *caesum* should have from one to seven syllables, a *membrum,* from eight to seventeen. This theory is at once too rigid and too superficial, and has not gained acceptance. It would seem better to base the difference, with Quintilian (9, 4, 122-24), on finished and unfinished rhythm. A satisfactory translation of these terms is likewise wanting. Since the distinction which they conveyed to the ancients is no longer regarded, they have no equivalent in modern English. The terms *clauses, phrases, commas, pauses, members, sections* express in some part the proper meaning, but they also differ, each one, in some fundamental point. It has seemed better, therefore, to attempt no translation of *membra* and *caesa,* but rather to hold merely to the ancient expression for what belongs wholly to ancient thought.

1. **ambitus:** for synonyms cf. Orat. 61, 204: in quo quaesitum est in totone circumitu illo orationis, quem Graeci περίοδον, nos tum ambitum, tum circumitum, tum comprehensionem aut continuationem aut circumscriptionem dicimus, an in principiis solum an in extremis an in utraque parte numerus tenendus sit; deinde cum aliud uideatur esse numerus aliud numerosum, quid intersit. Quintilian quotes Cicero, in his definition (9, 4, 124), but characteristically analyzes the period into its kinds: periodo plurima nomina dat Cicero, 'ambitum, circuitum, comprehensionem, continuationem, circumscriptionem'. genera eius duo sunt: alterum simplex, cum sensus unus longiore ambitu circumducitur; alterum, quod constat membris et in-

follows a rounded sentence, or period, which the latter call περίοδος, whose *membra* are held suspended by the voice of the speaker, until completed by the last one. For, of the *membra* preceding the period, the first one is, *since tribulation worketh patience;* the second, *and patience trial;* the third, *and trial, hope.* Then the period itself follows, which is completed in three *membra,* the first of which being, *and hope confoundeth not;* the second, *because the charity of God is poured forth in our hearts;* the third, *by the Holy Ghost, who is given to us.* But this, and things of this kind are set forth in the art of oratory. So, though we do not say that the Apostle followed the rules of eloquence, still, we do not deny that eloquence followed close upon his wisdom.

12. Writing to the Corinthians, in the second Epistle, he refutes certain false apostles from among the Jews, who were maligning him, and being obliged to speak of himself—granting it a kind of folly in himself—how wisely and how eloquently does he speak! But he is the attendant of wisdom, the master of eloquence; he follows the one, taking precedence of the other, and yet not

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cisis, quae plures sensus habent: 'aderat ianitor carceris et carnifex praetoris', reliqua. Mart. Cap. (5, 527) uses practically the same terms: περίοδος multis constat ex membris quae κῶλα Graeci dicunt et caesis quae κόμματα appellant. For further references on the period, cf. T. L. L. I, 1860, 46-79.

2. **cuius membra . . . finiantur:** Baldwin (2, 64) notes how A. by this observation throws the emphasis on *delivery,* in his definition of the period. This, however, Cicero also does, *e. g.* Brut. 8, 34: ipsa enim natura circumscriptione quadam uerborum comprehendit concluditque sententiam, quae cum aptis constricta uerbis est, cadit etiam plerumque numerose. nam et aures ipsae quid plenum, quid inane sit iudicant et spiritu quasi necessitate aliqua uerborum comprehensio terminatur; in quo non modo defici, sed etiam laborare turpe est.

suspenduntur = 'suspended', is Poetic, Silver, and Late.

3. **praecedunt** = 'go before': Poetic, Silver.

6. **subiungitur** = 'added': not frequent in Cicero, but often used by Pliny and Quint. It is related, in this meaning to *subnectere,* which, too, is scarcely ever used by Cic. and Caes., but often by Quint., Val. Max., Just., Hier.: cf. K.-Schm. s. v. It occurs again in 7, 13.

9. **at haec . . . in elocutionis arte traduntur:** as for instance in Ad. Her. 4; De Orat. 3; Quint. 9.

11. **quod . . . secuta sit . . . negamus:** note again the use of the Late *quod* clause in place of the regular infinitive and accusative of indirect discourse. In this instance it is in obvious contrast with the preceding *secutum fuisse,* used in an analogous clause with *dicimus.*

15. **praedicare compellitur:** the infinitive with *compellere* is used first by the poets, then in Silver Latin, and frequently in Late writers. See Colbert (58) for its common use in De Ciu. Dei. See also St.-Schm. 580; T. L. L. IV, 2034, 12.

2 Cor. 11, 16-30 et sequentem non respuens. *iterum dico* inquit *ne quis me existimet insipientem esse; alioquin uelut insipientem suscipite me, ut et ego modicum quid glorier. quod loquor, non loquor secundum Deum, sed quasi in stultitia, in hac substantia gloriae. quoniam quidem multi gloriantur secundum carnem, et ego gloriabor. libenter enim sustinetis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes. toleratis enim si quis uos in seruitutem redigit, si quis deuorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollitur, si quis in faciem uos caedit. secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmati simus. in quo autem quis audet (in insipientia dico), audeo et ego. Hebraei sunt? et ego. Israelitae sunt? et ego. semen Abrahae sunt? et ego. ministri Christi sunt? (insipiens dico) super ego. in laboribus plurimum, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus saepius. a Iudaeis quinquies, quadraginta una minus accepi. ter uirgis caesus sum, semel lapidatus sum, ter naufragium feci; nocte et die in profundo maris fui; in itineribus saepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in ciuitate, periculis in deserto, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus; in labore et aerumna, in uigiliis saepius, in fame et siti, in ieiuniis saepius, in frigore et nuditate; praeter illa quae extrinsecus sunt, incursus in me quotidianus, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum. quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? si gloriari oportet, in iis quae infirmitatis meae sunt, gloriabor.* quanta sapientia ista sint dicta, uigilantes uident. quanto uero etiam eloquentiae cucurrerint flumine, et qui stertit aduertit.

13. Porro autem qui nouit, agnoscit quod ea caesa quae κόμματα Graeci uocant, et membra et circuitus, de quibus paulo ante disserui, cum decentissima uarietate interponerentur, totam istam speciem dictionis, et quasi eius uultum, quo etiam indocti delec-

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2 et *om. I Ver.An.* 4 Dominum *A Vulg.* substantiam *I.* 5 multi quidem *I.* 6 ipsi *om. ACEFGHI Ver.An.* 7 si quis deuorat *om. E.* 9 ignorantiam *E.* quasi . . . simus *om. E*; simus]sumus *D*; infirmati simus]infirmi fuerimus *F Ver.An. Vulg.* 10 in quo . . . dico *om E.* 11 semen Abrahae sunt et ego *om. I.* 12 sunt et ego *BE*; sunt ut *C.* plus ego *F Vulg.* (*MSS. duo*; super ego *alii omnes cum editis;* ὑπὲρ ἐγώ *Graece* [*Maur.*]). plurimis *F Ver.An.* 14 saepius]saepe *E*; frequenter *I Ver.An. Vulg.* quadragenas *EFHI Vulg.* 15 semel lapidatus sum *om. E.* 16 profundum *AEGHI.* 18 ciuitatibus *F.* 19 in falsis]ex falsis *F.* fratribus falsis *F.* saepius]multis *AE Ver.An. Vulg.* 20 saepius]multis *FI.* 22 ego *om. D.* qui *F.* 23 non ego *C Ver.An.* in *om. E.* his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E.* 25 uideant *D.* etiam *om. CH.* eloquentia *F.* concurrerint *ABG Mig.*; cucurrerunt *F.* fluminis *F.* 26 auertit *AE.* 28 disseruimus *F.* 30 etiam *om. E.*

1. **iterum dico, etc.:** cf. Introd. page 24, for a comparison of this quotation with the Old Version and the Vulgate; cf. Eskridge 31-35, for a graphic analysis of its *membra* and *caesa*.

29. **cum decentissima uarietate:** cf. De Orat. 1, 32, 144: apte et quasi decore; Orat. 29, 103: at haec interdum temperanda et uarianda sunt.

spurning it as it follows him. *I say again* he says (*let no man think me to be foolish, otherwise, take me as one foolish, that I also may glory a little.*) *That which I speak, I speak not according to God, but as it were in foolishness, in the matter of glorying. Seeing that many glory according to the flesh, I will glory also. For you gladly suffer the foolish; whereas yourselves are wise. For you suffer if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take from you, if a man be lifted up, if a man strike you on the face. I speak according to dishonor, as if we had been weak. Wherein if any man dare (I speak foolishly), I dare also. They are Hebrews? So am I. They are Israelites? So am I. They are the seed of Abraham? So am I. They are the ministers of Christ? (I speak as one foolish); I am more; in labors, very often, in prisons more frequently, in stripes above measure, in deaths, many times. Of the Jews five times did I receive forty stripes, save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once I was stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I was in the depth of the sea. In journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren. In labors and painfulness, in watchings many times, in hunger and thirst, in fastings very often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things which are without: my daily care, the solicitude for all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is scandalized, and I am not on fire? If I must needs glory, I will glory in the things that concern my infirmity.* The great wisdom with which this is expressed, those who have their eyes open can see. But too, the mighty torrent of eloquence with which these words rush on, even one snoring in sleep must notice.

13. Furthermore, the scholar recognizes that it is the *caesa* called by the Greeks, *κόμματα*, and the *membra* and periods mentioned a little above, which interspersed as they are in the most fitting variety, have here produced the whole form and feature, so to speak, of the diction, whereby even the unlettered are pleased and moved. For from the beginning of the preceding quotation, periods are used. The first is the shortest, that is, it has only two

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decentissima: *decens*, in the superlative, is cited for Silver Latin, and for frequent use in Late writers: cf. T. L. L. IV, 135, 41-136, 11.

tantur mouenturque, fecerunt. nam unde coepimus hunc locum inserere, circuitus sunt; primus minimus, hoc est bimembris—minus enim quam duo membra circuitus habere non possunt, plura uero possunt—ergo ille primus est: *iterum dico, ne quis me existimet insipientem esse.* sequitur alius trimembris: *alioquin uelut insipientem suscipite me, ut et ego modicum quid glorier.* tertius qui sequitur membra habet quattuor: *quod loquor, non loquor secundum Deum, sed quasi in stultitia, in hac substantia gloriae.* quartus duo habet: *quoniamquidem multi gloriantur secundum carnem, et ego gloriabor.* et quintus habet duo: *libenter enim sustinetis insipientes, cum sitis ipsi sapientes.* etiam sextus bimembris est: *toleratis enim, si quis uos in seruitutem redigit.* Sequuntur tria caesa: *si quis deuorat, si quis accipit, si quis extollitur.* deinde tria membra: *si quis in faciem uos caedit, secundum ignobilitatem dico, quasi nos infirmati simus.* additur trimembris circuitus: *in quo autem quis audet (in insipientia dico), audeo et ego.* hinc iam singulis quibusque caesis interrogando positis, singula itidem caesa responsione redduntur, tria tribus: *Hebraei sunt? et ego. Israelitae sunt? et ego. semen Abrahae sunt? et ego.* quarto autem caeso simili interrogatione posito, non alterius caesi, sed membri oppo-

1 fecerunt]ceperunt *E.* 2 minimus]minor *C*, (*supra*) *G*; minus *D.* 4 est *om. E.* 6 et *om. C Ver.An.* quid modicum *A.* 7 habet membra *E.* 8 Dominum *AC Vulg.* 9 quandoquidem *Maur.*; quia *Ver.An.*; quoniam *Vulg.* 10 et (quintus) *om. E.* habet *om. CFGH.* duo habet *I.* 11 ipsi *om. MSS Ver.An.* 13 tria *om. D.* 15 infirmi *EH Ver.An. Vulg.* 16 autem]eius *E.* in *om. I.* 17 -que *om. D.* 18 tria *om. D.* 19 Israelitae sunt . . . Abrahae sunt et ego *om. I.* 20 positi *D.* ulterius *E.* bimembri *A.*

1. **delectantur mouenturque:** *delectare* and *mouere*, the objects of the temperate and grand styles respectively, are shown therefore to be attained by a *fitting* use of *caesa*, *membra*, and *circuitus*.

unde = *a quo:* cf. 5, 7, and below: 18, 37; 20, 41; 21, 45.

2. **hoc est:** a parallel use of *id est* and *hoc est* is noted in Latin from Cicero down to the 7th century A. D. Cicero himself, in his later writings, abandoned *hoc est* for *id est*. *Id est* remained thereafter the normal phrase, though *hoc est* continued to be used, and finally triumphed in Italian: cioè < ecce + hoc est: cf. Meader 53 ff. In De Doctr. Chris. 4, *hoc est* occurs five times, *id est* seven times. For Ambrose's use of these phrases, see McGuire 22, Adams 54, Buck 20.

bimembris . . . trimembris: Silver and Late.

3. **minus enim . . . plura possunt:** cf. Ad Her. 4, 19, 26: ex duobus membris suis haec exornatio potest constare; sed commodissima et absolutissima est, quae ex tribus constat, hoc pacto 'et inimico proderas et amicum laedebas et tibi non consulebas.' Orat. 66, 221-222: constat enim ille ambitus et plena comprehensio e quattuor fere partibus, quae membra dicimus, ut et aures impleat et neque breuior sit quam satis sit neque longior. . . . (e quattuor igitur quasi hexametrorum instar uersuum quod sit constat fere plena comprehensio.) Quint. 9, 4, 125: habet pe-

membra—periods cannot have less than this, though they may have more—so the first is: *I say again, let no man think me to be foolish.* Another, made up of three *membra,* follows: *Otherwise, take me as one foolish, that I also may glory a little.* The third in order has four *membra: That which I speak, I speak not according to God, but as it were in foolishness, in this matter of glorying.* The fourth has two: *Seeing that many glory according to the flesh, I will glory also.* And the fifth has two: *For you gladly suffer the foolish; whereas yourselves are wise.* In like manner the sixth has two: *For you suffer if a man bring you into bondage.* Three *caesa* follow: *If a man devour you, if a man take from you, if a man be lifted up.* Then three *membra: If a man strike you on the face. I speak according to dishonor, as if we had been weak.* A period of three *membra* then follows: *Wherein if any man dare (I speak foolishly), I dare also.* Then several distinct *caesa* are put in question form, and as many distinct *caesa* are returned in answer, three against three: *They are Hebrews? So am I. They are Israelites? So am I. They are the seed of Abraham? So am I.* But the fourth, put likewise as a question, is answered not by the balance of another *caesum,* but of a *membrum: They are the ministers of Christ? (I speak as one foolish), I am more.* Then the question form being fittingly dropped, the four following *caesa* pour

riodus membra minimum duo. medius numerus uidentur quattuor, sed recipit frequenter et plura. Aug. Mus. 4, 17, 36: circuitus ergo minor esse non potest, quam qui duobus membris constat. . . . licet igitur minimum bimembrem, medium trimembrem, ultimum quadrimembrem uocare.

17. **singulis quibusque:** *quisque* restricted to use with (1) a pronoun, relative, interrogative, or reflexive, (2) a superlative, (3) an ordinal, was not adhered to even by Cicero himself, who in his rhetorical and philosophical works used *quisque* freely, regarding only the rule of not beginning a sentence with this pronoun. Later writers used *quisque* with the same freedom, *e. g.* with the positive and comparative of adjectives, and with *singuli* in place of an ordinal numeral: cf. Hor. De Arte Poet. 92: singula quaeque; Vopisc. Sat. 11, 4: singuli quique; Hier. Contr. Pelag. 2, 20: in singulis quibusque sanctorum. See K.-Schm. s. v. Lebreton 106-8; Goel. (1) 410. See the singular use of this combination, below in 26, 56: singulo quoque.

18. **responsione:** *responsio* = *responsum,* is rare, but classical: cf. K.-Schm. s. v. The figure of rhetoric, *responsio,* called also *subiectio,* is mentioned by Auct. ad Her., Cicero, and Quintilian. This passage is a good example of it. Cicero refers to this figure in Orat. 40, 137: ut interrogando urgeat; ut rursus quasi ad interrogata sibi ipse respondeat; and in De Orat. 3, 54, 207, in an enumeration of figures: et dissupatio et continuatum et interruptum et imago et sibi ipsi *responsio.*

sitione respondet: *ministri Christi sunt? (insipiens dico) super ego.* iam quattuor sequentia, remota decentissime interrogatione funduntur: *in laboribus plurimum, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus saepius.* deinde interponitur breuis circuitus, quoniam suspensa pronuntiatione distinguendum est, *a Iudaeis quinquies,* ut hoc sit unum membrum, cui conectitur alterum, *quadraginta una minus accepi.* inde reditur ad caesa, et ponuntur tria: *ter uirgis caesus sum, semel lapidatus sum, ter naufragium feci.* sequitur membrum: *nocte ac die in profundo fui.* deinde quattuordecim caesa decentissimo impetu profluunt: *in itineribus saepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in ciuitate, periculis in deserto, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus; in labore et aerumna, in uigiliis saepius, in fame et siti, in ieiuniis saepius, in frigore et nuditate.* post haec interponit trimembrem circuitum: *praeter illa quae extrinsecus sunt, incursus in me quotidianus, sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum.* et huic duo membra percontatione subiungit: *quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?* postremo totus iste quasi anhelans locus, bimembri circuitu terminatur: *si gloriari oportet, in iis quae infirmitatis meae sunt gloriabor.* quod vero post hunc impetum interposita narratiuncula quodammodo requiescit et requiescere auditorem facit, quid decoris et delectationis habeat, satis dici non
2 Cor. 11, 31 potest, sequitur enim dicens: *Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi scit, qui est benedictus in saecula, quod non mentior.* ac deinde quomodo periclitatus fuerit, et quomodo euaserit, breuissime narrat.

1 respondit *F.* sunt et ego *DEF.* 2 decentissima *BF.* 3 plurimus *I Ver.An.* abundanti *D.* 4 saepius]frequenter *DF Ver.An. Vulg.* 5 (qui suspensa pronuntiatione distinguendus est *MSS quattuor* [*Maur.*]). 7 et]ut *D.* 9 et *EFG Ver.An. Vulg.* profundum *AEG.* 14 uigiliis saepius]uigiliis multis *AF Ver.An. Vulg.* 15 interponet *G.* 16 in me incursus *A.* 18 percontatione subiungit]per percontationes ibi iungit *I*; percontatione]percontationis (*sic em.*) *B.* 20 bimembri circuitu]bimembris in circuitu *E.* 20 his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E.* 22 et *om. I.* 23 facit auditorem *Maur.* et]quid *Maur.* dilectionis *E.* habet *E.* 25 Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi]Pater Domini Iesu *BCFG.* et requiescere auditorem . . . scit *om. I.*

5. **distinguendum:** *distinguere* = 'separate', is common to Late Latin. though found in Cicero and Quintilian: cf. Quint. 1, 8, 1: quo loco uersum distinguere debeat puer, ubi claudatur sensus, unde incipiat: cf. T.L.L. V, 1528, 8-59. It occurs again in 7, 19.

6. **cui conectitur:** *cum* with the abl. is the usual construction with *conectere;* the dative is sometimes used, however, as in De Orat. 2, 80, 325: conexum autem ita sit principium consequenti orationi: cf. K.-Steg. I, 1, 330; T. L. L. IV, 165 ff.

19. **anhelans** = 'panting', is Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. Hier. Epis. 125, 12: stridentia anhelantiaque uerba: cf. T. L. L. II, 66, 18.

22. **narratiuncula:** cited for Quint. 1, 9, 6; Plin. Epis. 6, 33, 8.

forth: *In labors, very often, in prisons more frequently, in stripes above measure, in deaths many times.* Next a short period is inserted, for by keeping the voice raised in delivery, *Of the Jews five times* is to be set off as one *membrum,* with which is connected a second, *did I receive forty stripes save one.* Then the *caesa* are taken up again, and three are given: *Thrice was I beaten with rods, once I was stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck.* A *membrum* follows: *A night and a day, I was in the depth of the sea.* Then fourteen *caesa* stream forth with most appropriate force: *In journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren. In labor and painfulness, in watchings many times, in hunger and thirst, in fastings very often, in cold and nakedness.* After this he inserts a period of three *membra: Besides those things which are without: my daily care, the solicitude for the churches.* And to this he adds two *membra* in question form: *Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is scandalized, and I am not on fire?* Finally the whole passage, as though panting for breath, ends with a period of two *membra: If I must needs glory, I will glory in the things that concern my infirmity.* But because after this outburst, by inserting a bit of narrative he calms down after a fashion, and makes his reader calm down, it is impossible to express what a fine and pleasing effect he attains. For he continues with the words: *The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed forever, knoweth that I lie not.* And then he proceeds to tell in short how he has been in danger, and how he has escaped.

requiescere . . . facit: *facere* with the infinitive was a popular idiom of the *sermo plebeus,* though used at times in the literary language of Early, Class., and Silver writers. It became frequent in Late Latin as a colloquial idiom, but also through the influence of the Bible, where it is often found as a translation of Greek and Hebrew causatives: *e. g.* Exod. 23, 11: dimittes eam et requiescere facies. Augustine uses it in the Confessions, and frequently in De Ciu. Dei: cf. St.-Schm. 580; K.-Steg. II, 1, 694; T. L. L. VI, 115-16; Rönsch 366-67; Arts 90; Colbert 58; McGuire 192. It appears again below in 7, 20.

24. **sequitur:** *sequi* = 'continue', is rare, but occurs in Lucr. 5, 529: sequor disponere causas.

dicens: a stereotyped introduction to biblical quotations, often used by ecclesiastical writers, and found frequently below. *Dico* in all forms with direct quotations is common to this treatise, as to all Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 606; T. L. L. V, 982, 33—983, 33.

14. Longum est caetera persequi, uel in aliis sanctarum scripturarum locis ista monstrare. quid, si etiam figuras locutionis quae illa arte traduntur, in iis saltem quae de apostoli eloquio commemoraui, ostendere uoluissem? nonne facilius graues homines me nimium, quam quisquam studiosorum sibi sufficientem putaret? haec omnia quando a magistris docentur pro magno habentur, magno emuntur pretio, magna iactatione uenduntur. quam iactantionem etiam ego redolere uereor, dum ista sic dissero. sed male doctis hominibus respondendum fuit, qui nostros auctores contemnendos putant, non quia non habent, sed quia non ostentant, quam nimis isti diligunt, eloquentiam.

15. Sed forte quis putat, tamquam eloquentem nostrum elegisse 2 Cor. 11, 6 me apostolum Paulum. uidetur enim ubi ait, *etsi imperitus sermone, sed non scientia,* quasi concedendo obtrectatoribus sic locutus, non tamquam id uerum agnosceret, confitendo. si autem dixisset, "imperitus quidem sermone, sed non scientia," nullo modo aliud posset intellegi. scientiam plane non cunctatus est profiteri, sine qua esse doctor gentium non ualeret. certe si quid eius proferimus ad exemplum eloquentiae, ex illis epistolis utique proferi- 2 Cor. 10, 10 mus, quas etiam ipsi obtrectatores, eius qui sermonem praesentis contemptibilem putari uolebant, graves et fortes esse confessi sunt.

2 demonstrare *D.* quod *EH.* locutiones *G.* 3 his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E.* saltem]autem *D.* de . . . eloquio]ad . . . eloquium *D.* 5 sufficientem sibi *A.* putarent *AE Maur.* 6 a *om. E.* 7 pretio *om. ADEFGHI*; pretio emuntur *C.* pretio . . . uenduntur *in marg. alia m. B.* 8 ego *om. A*; ego etiam *F.* recolere *A.* 10 habeant (*sic em.*) *B.* ostendunt *F.* 12 putant *G.* nostrorum *A.* 15 id *om. E.* uero *I.* autem]]uero *E.* 16 sermone et non addidisset *C.* scientia (*sic Bad. Am. Er. et MSS*; et non addidisset sed non scientia *Lou.* [*Maur.*]). quasi concedendo . . . non scientia *rep. F.* 18 non ualeret]nequaquam esse ualeret *E.* si quid certe eius *G.* 20 praesente *B.* 21 parere *C*; pari (parere *supra*) *G.* nolebant *E.*

3. **eloquio** = *eloquentia,* in Aug. poets and Silver prose.

5. **studiosorum** = 'students', belongs particularly to Silver Latin, but already occurs in Cic. De Opt. Gen. 5, 13: putaui mihi suscipiendum laborem utilem studiosis. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; For. s. v.

sufficientem: the present participle is used predicatively with verbs denoting mental action, by Cic., Sall., Hor., Nepos., Vitr., and Livy: cf. St.-Schm. 605; K.-Steg. II, 1, 763.

6. **haec omnia . . . eloquentiam:** A., while quietly denouncing the excesses of Sophistic, is here led to express one of the principal aims of the present treatise: to prove the value of Holy Scripture as a model of style: cf. Norden 526-28; Baldwin (2) 53.

quando, temporal, was popular in colloquial Latin, but avoided in the polished literary language, *e. g.* of Ter., Caes., Varro, Sall., Plin. Min., Tac. Cicero used it only occasionally; as also the poets. It became common in Late Latin; and in the Romance languages entirely replaced *cum* (cf. Ital. *quando,* and

14. It would be tedious to follow out other points, or to indicate such features in other places of the Holy Scriptures. What, if in the passages at least which I have quoted illustrative of the Apostle's eloquence, I had also wished to point out the figures of speech taught in rhetoric? Would not serious-minded men consider that I was going too far, rather than any student, that I was satisfactory to him? All these things, when taught by professors, are esteemed of great value; they are bought at a great price, and sold with great display. Such display, even I fear to smack of, as I thus discuss these matters; but it has seemed necessary to answer the ill-informed who think that our writers deserve contempt, not because they do not possess, but because they do not make display of the eloquence which the former too highly esteem.

15. But some perhaps may think that I have chosen the Apostle Paul as *the* example of our eloquence. For where he says, *Although I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge,* he seems to have spoken thus merely by way of giving in to his detractors, not of confessing it as if he recognized it to be true. If, however, he had said, "I, indeed, rude in speech, but not in knowledge," no other meaning could possibly be taken from his words. Clearly, he did not hesitate to profess knowledge, without which he could not succeed as the teacher of the Gentiles. And, indeed, if we point out any thing of his as an example of eloquence, we assuredly point it out from those Epistles which even his detractors, themselves, who wanted his spoken word to be thought contemptible, admitted to be weighty and strong. And so I see that I must say something also of the eloquence of the Prophets, greatly cloaked as it is in a metaphorical style. The more, however, that they seem obscure by the use of

French *quand*). It is frequently used in the Confessions, as also in this treatise: cf. chapters 10, 25; 12, 28; 13, 29; 18, 37; 22, 51; 23, 52; 24, 54; 26, 56; 26, 58; 29, 63; See K.-Steg. II, 2, 365; St.-Schm. 740; Arts 101.

10. **non quia non habent:** the indicative here is classical, as expressing an excluded fact, but the use of *non quia* for *non quod*, though it occurs in Early Latin, is rare in the Class. period, becoming, however, more common from Livy on: cf. St.-Schm. 727; Gildersleeve 340.

12. **sed forte quis putat . . . Paulum:** of modern critics, this seems to be the opinion of Norden (528), who holds that outside of St. Paul, the Scriptures have no intrinsic claim to be reckoned rhetorical.

forte quis putat: for *forte* = *forsitan*, see 1, 2, and 10, 25.

19. **epistolis . . . fortes esse:** cf. 2 Cor. 10, 10: quoniam quidem epistolae, inquiunt, graues sunt et fortes, praesentia autem corporis infirma, et sermo contemptibilis.

dicendum ergo mihi aliquid esse uideo et de eloquentia prophetarum, ubi per tropologiam multa obteguntur. quae quanto magis translatis uerbis uidentur operiri, tanto magis cum fuerint aperta dulcescunt. sed hoc loco tale aliquid commemorare debeo, ubi quae dicta sunt non cogar exponere, sed commendem tantum quomodo Amos 7, 14-15 dicta sint. et ex illius prophetae libro potissimum hoc faciam qui se pastorem uel armentarium fuisse dicit, atque inde diuinitus ablatum atque missum, ut Dei populo prophetaret: non autem secundum septuaginta interpretes, qui etiam ipsi diuino Spiritu interpretati, ob hoc aliter uidentur nonnulla dixisse, ut ad spiritualem sensum scrutandum magis admoneretur lectoris intentio—unde etiam obscuriora nonnulla, quia magis tropica, sunt eorum—sed sicut ex hebraeo in latinum eloquium, presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguae perito interpretante, translata sunt.

16. Cum igitur argueret impios, superbos, luxuriosos, et frater-

4 ubi ea *F*. 5 sint *G*. tantummodo *E*. sunt non cogar . . . quomodo dicta *om*. *D*. 6 sunt *EH*. et ex *om*. *A*. potissimum libro *E*. haec *F*. 10 ab *H*. 12 obscuriora *om*. *C*. nonnulla obscuriora *E*. sunt *om*. *F*. 15 impios et *F*.

2. **tropologiam**: Late Latin.

3. **cum fuerint aperta**: in Late Latin the future perfect with *si*, *ubi*, *cum*, and relatives occurs with the meaning of the simple future or present, to correspond to the present of the main clause. This usage occurs below in 7, 15; 10, 25; 11, 26; 20, 39; 22, 51; 23, 52; 30, 63. See St.-Schm. 564.

6. **qui se . . . prophetaret**: cf. Amos 7, 14-15: responditque Amos, et dixit ad Amasiam: non sum propheta, et non sum filius prophetae, sed armentarius ego sum, uellicans sycomoros. et tulit me Dominus, cum sequerer gregem; et dixit Dominus ad me: uade, propheta ad populum meum Israel.

7. **armentarium**: cited for Varro, the poets, Silver and Late Latin: cf. T. L. L. II, 610, 43-55: cf. Verg. Georg. 3, 244: omnia secum armentarius Afer agit.

8. **non autem, etc.**: this is treated as a separate sentence by the Benedictine editors, but there is no need of considering it thus, as elliptical, since it clearly follows closely upon *hoc faciam*, etc., above.

10. **spiritualem** = 'spiritual', is Late Latin.

11. **sensum** = 'meaning', is Poetic, Silver, and Late.

magis =*potius*, as also in 10, 24; 15, 32; 20, 41: common to Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 464, 672.

intentio = 'attention': found three times in Cicero, once in Livy, more frequently in Silver and Late Latin.

12. **unde**, as a conclusive particle, is Late: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; Goel. (1) 424; and for its use in Augustine: Arts 62, Colbert 36. It occurs below in 10, 24; 16, 33; 26, 58; 29, 62; 27, 59.

tropica: Late Latin for *per translationem*: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; Goel. (1) 220.

13. **hebraeo**: *hebraeus* is generally only a substantive, but it appears in place of *hebraicus*, not only in Stat. Silv. 5, 1, 213, but also in Tacitus, Pliny, and then in Late writers.

Hieronymo . . . interpretante: the redundant use of the participle changes the ablative from that of agent, as would normally be expect-

figurative expressions, the more pleasing they are when their meaning has been made clear. But I must here quote some passage wherein I may not have to explain what is said, but may merely commend the manner in which it is said. Wherefore, I shall draw especially from the book of that Prophet, who says that having been shepherd and herdsman, he was by divine appointment taken and sent to prophesy to the people of God: but not according to the Septuagint translators, who even themselves, working under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, seem for this very reason to have expressed some things in a different way, in order that the attention of the reader might be rather directed to a study of the spiritual sense—and thus some of their passages are even more obscure because more figurative—but rather as the translation has been made from the Hebrew into the Latin language, done by the presbyter, Jerome, himself a skillful expounder of both tongues.

16. And so, when he was inveighing against the wicked, the proud, the luxurious, and those, therefore, who were totally indiffer-

ed, to ablative absolute, a construction used with ever greater freedom in Late Latin.—In 383 Jerome began his work on what later developed into the Vulgate. In 390 he revised a part of the Old Testament by direct comparison with the Hebrew; another part he corrected from the Aramaic. His work did not meet with immediate favor, but it gradually gained recognition, until it supplanted the Old Latin Versions. As for Augustines' opinion of Jerome's work, his letter of 403 A. D. leaves no doubt of his acceptance of the Gospels, which had been revised after the completion of part of the books of the Old Testament. He says: proinde paruas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quod euangelium ex Graeco interpretatus es, quia paene in omnibus nulla offensio est (Epist. 71, 4, 6). Moreover, the text used in his critical work, *De Consensu Euang.* (400 A. D.), is clearly that of Jerome's Gospel. As for the Old Testament, in De Ciu. Dei 18, 43 Augustine, while giving the preference to the Septuagint translators, speaks in terms of no small praise of his learned contemporary: quamuis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus, et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Graeco, sed ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas comuerterit. sed eius tam litteratum laborem quamuis Iudaei fateantur esse ueracem, Septuaginta uero interpretes in multis errasse contendant, tamen ecclesiae Christi tot hominum auctoritati, ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice ad hoc tantum opus electorum, neminem iudicant praeferendum. Besides this, his open preference for the Vulgate over the Septuagint, in the present selection from Amos, is proof of his respect for, and appreciation of the later work: cf. Burkitt 55 ff.

15. et with only the last member of a series in coördination is not found in the best classical prose. When Cicero connects three or more substantives, either all are left without conjunctions, or conjunctions occur with each member, or *-que* is put with the last. *Et* in Cicero with the final member draws attention to an effect or a result: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; Dräger II, 3; Gildersleeve 303.

nae ideo negligentissimos charitatis, rusticus uel ex rustico iste Amos 6, 1-6 propheta exclamauit, dicens: *uae qui opulenti estis in Sion, et confiditis in monte Samariae, optimates capita populorum, ingredientes pompatice domum Israel! transite in Chalanne, et uidete, et ite inde in Emath magnam, et descendite in Geth Palaestinorum, et ad optima quaeque regna horum, si latior terminus eorum termino uestro est. qui separati estis in diem malum, et appropinquatis solio iniquitatis. qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lasciuitis in stratis uestris; qui comeditis agnum de grege, et uitulos de medio armenti; qui canitis ad uocem psalterii. sicut Dauid putauerunt se habere uasa cantici; bibentes in phialis uinum, et optimo unguento delibuti; et nihil patiebantur super contritione Ioseph.* numquidnam isti, qui prophetas nostros tamquam ineruditos et elocutionis ignaros uelut docti disertique contemnunt, si aliquid eis tale uel in tales dicendum fuisset, aliter se uoluissent dicere qui tamen eorum insanire noluissent?

17. Quid enim est quod isto eloquio aures sobriae plus desiderent? primo ipsa inuectio, quasi sopitis sensibus ut euigilarent, quo fremitu illisa est: *uae uobis qui opulenti estis in Sion, et confiditis in monte Samariae, optimates capita populorum, ingredientes pompatice domum Israel.* deinde ut beneficiis Dei, qui eis ampla spatia regni dedit, ostendat ingratos, quoniam confidebant in monte Samariae, ubi utique idola colebantur, *transite* inquit *in*

1 rusticus uel ex *om. E.* 3 montes *H*; montem *I.* 5 in (Emath) *om. C.* 6 ad *om. E Ver.An.* 10 armento *I.* 14 uel *E*; ueluti *Maur.* 15 fuisset]noluissent *E.* uoluissent]uoluerunt *E.* 16 uoluissent *FH.* 19 uobis *om. Maur.* 21 domus *G Ver.An.* transite in Chalanne . . . domum Israel *om. A.* 23 montes *H.*

1. **ex rustico:** *ex* meaning a change of state or profession, is a natural extension of the use in which it marks source or origin: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 505; Goel. (2) 195: ex interfectore, medicus; martyr, ex fure; sit uerax sacerdos ex laico, qui fieri laicus ex fallace sacerdote contentus est; cf. also the phrases so frequent in the Late period: ex consule (Eutr.); ex corniculario (Cod. Theod.); ex comite largitionum (Amm.).

2. **uae qui opulenti, etc.:** cf. Baldwin (2) 62-64, Eskridge 35-36, for an analysis of this passage in graphic form.

13. **numquidnam:** *numquid* is especially common in Early Latin, and in the Vulgate, where it is used indiscriminately for a question requiring a positive or a negative answer. It occurs to some extent also in Class. and Silver Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 649, 696; Salonius 316; Bonnet 324; McGuire 117. It is used below in 16, 33, and 24, 53.

tamquam ineruditos . . . uelut docti: *tamquam* with a participle is cited first for Cic. Verr. 2, 5, 28; *uelut* with a participle, for Livy. After Livy the use of *tamquam* or *uelut* with a participle increased until it became frequent in Tacitus

ent to brotherly love, this peasant, or rather peasant become prophet, cried out, saying: *Woe to you that are wealthy in Sion, and to you that have confidence in the mountain of Samaria, ye great men, heads of the people, that go in with much state into the house of Israel. Pass ye over into Chalane, and see, and go from thence into Emath the great: and go down into Geth of the Philistines, and to all the best kingdoms of these: if their border be larger than your border. You that are separated unto the evil day: and that approach to the throne of iniquity: you that sleep upon beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches: that eat the lambs of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd: you that sing to the sound of psaltery: they have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David: that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments: and they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph.* Tell me pray, would those very men who, as though themselves learned and eloquent, contemn our Prophet as unlettered and unskilled in speech, would they, if they had had to address some such rebuke to such people, have wanted to express themselves in any other way—those of them, of course, who would not have wanted to appear mad?

17. For what more could the sober ear desire in this passage? First of all, with what a clash does the mere denunciation beat against senses deadened, as it were, in order to arouse them: *Woe to you that are wealthy in Sion, and to you that have confidence in the mountain of Samaria: ye great men, heads of the people, that go in with state into the house of Israel!* Then in regard to the gifts of God who had bestowed on them wide regions for their kingdom, to show them how ungrateful they were, since they were

and Late writers. Cf. St.-Schm. 603; Gildersleeve 427. See below: 7, 16.

18. **inuectio** = 'invective', is cited for Cic. Verr. 2, 10; De Inuent. 2, 54, 164; and Late writers.

19. **illisa est:** mostly Poetic and Silver.

22. **ampla:** the forms *amplus* and *amplior* are very rare in Early Latin, and are uncommon in all periods. *Amplius* is frequent in Early and Class. Latin, and very frequent in the Silver and Late writers. *Amplus*, used of places, is mostly Silver and Late: cf. T. L. L. I, 2007, 7-17.

spatia regni: the genitive of definition, restricted in Class. prose, was gradually extended in the Silver and Late periods. Note examples below: inter opera misericordiae uel beneficientiae (16, 30); commotionis affectum (21, 46); exempli forma (21, 48); toris ornamentorum (23, 52). See St.-Schm. 394-95.

23. **in monte:** the use of *in* with the ablative construed with *confido* is Eccl., due to the influence of the Hebrew and Greek idioms which passed into the Latin versions of the Bible: cf. T. L. L. IV, 208, 39 ff.; Rönsch 397. Augustine merely echoes the text of Amos.

Chalanne, et uidete, et ite in Emath magnam, et descendite in Geth Palaestinorum, et ad optima quaeque regna horum, si latior terminus eorum termino uestro est. simul etiam cum ista dicuntur, locorum nominibus tamquam luminibus ornatur eloquium, quae sunt *Sion, Samaria, Chalanne, Emath magna,* et *Geth Palaestinorum.* deinde uerba quae his adiunguntur locis, decentissime uariantur: *opulenti estis, confiditis, transite, ite, descendite.*

18. Consequenter denuntiatur futura sub iniquo rege appropinquare captiuitas, cum adiungitur: *qui separati estis in diem malum, et appropinquatis solio iniquitatis.* tunc subiciuntur merita luxuriae: *qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lasciuitis in stratis uestris; qui comeditis agnum de grege, et uitulos de medio armenti.* ista sex membra tres bimembres circuitus ediderunt. non enim ait, "qui separati estis in diem malum, qui appropinquatis solio iniquitatis, qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, qui lasciuitis in stratis uestris, qui comeditis agnum de grege, et uitulos de medio armenti." quod si ita diceretur, esset quidem et hoc pulchrum, ut ab uno pronomine repetito omnia sex membra decurrerent, et pronuntiantis uoce singula finirentur; sed pulchrius factum est, ut eidem pronomini essent bina subnexa, quae tres sententias explicarent: unam ad captiuitatis praenuntiationem: *qui separati estis in diem malum, et appropinquatis solio iniquitatis,* alteram ad libidinem: *qui dormitis in lectis eburneis, et lasciuitis in stratis uestris,* ad uoracitatem uero tertiam pertinentem: *qui comeditis agnum de grege, et uitulos de medio armenti:* ut in potestate sit pronuntiantis, utrum singula finiat, et membra sint sex, an primum et tertium et quintum uoce suspendat, et secundum primo, quartum

2 horum regna *I*. 5 sunt *om. E*. 6 hiis *E*. 7 estis et *E*. ite transite *D*. 8 futura denuntiatur *EI*. appropinquare *om. D*; propinquare *BI*. 9 separati estis]separatis *B*. 13 reddiderunt *EI*. 16 et]qui *H*. 17 quod *om. Maur.* pulcrum quidem et hoc esset *E*. 18 omnia]singula *Maur.* et]ut (*sic em.*) *B*. 20 explicarunt *CDFG*. 23 uestris *om. D*. 24 comeditis inquit *BCDEFGH*.

idola = ' idols ', is found often in Eccl. Latin, from Tertullian on: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

3. **simul etiam:** *simul etiam, simul uero* (*autem*) *etiam,* for simple *simul* or *simulque,* is of doubtful Class. usage, but is found in Celsus 2, 1: nocturnis atque matutinis, simulque etiam uespertinis (temporibus) frigus est: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

4. **tamquam luminibus:** cf. De Orat. 3, 54, 205: his fere luminibus inlustrant orationem sententiae.

6. **decentissime:** this superlative is used from Seneca on, especially in Late writers: cf. T. L. L. V, 136, 58-60.

8. **consequenter** = *deinde,* is Late Latin: cf. Aug. Epist. 185, 49: consequenter adiungit apostolus: cf. T. L. L. III, 412, 74-85.

13. **ista sex membra . . . monstretur:** Augustine gives only passing notice to *pronuntiatio.* His remarks,

then putting their confidence in the mountain of Samaria, where, in truth, idols were worshipped, he says: *Pass ye over to Chalane, and see, and go from thence into Emath the great: and go down into Geth of the Philistines, and to all the best kingdoms of these; if their border be larger than your border.* Moreover, also, in this passage the language is adorned by the names of places, as though by lights, to wit, *Sion, Samaria, Chalane, Emath the great,* and *Geth of the Philistines.* Then too, the words used in connection with these places are very fittingly varied, *you that are wealthy—have confidence—pass ye over—go—go down.*

18. Next, announcement is made that a future captivity under a cruel king is approaching, in the words: *You that are separated unto the evil day: and that approach to the throne of iniquity.* Then the evils of luxury are summed up: *You that sleep upon beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches: that eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd.* These six *membra* make three periods of two *membra* each. For the writer does not say: "You that are separated unto the evil day, that approach to the throne of iniquity, that sleep upon beds of ivory, that are wanton on your couches, that eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd." If he had so put it, it would, to be sure, be well expressed also, so that with the repetition of the same pronoun each of the six *membra* would be introduced, and each would be finished off by the fall of the speaker's voice. But it is finer as it is written, with each two *membra* depending on one pronoun, in order to explain three ideas: one pertaining to the announcement of captivity: *You that are separated unto the evil day: and that approach to the throne of iniquity;* the second, to unlawful pleasures: *You that sleep upon beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches;* and the third, to gluttony: *that eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd;* so that the speaker is free either to complete each separately, and have six clauses, or to suspend by his

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however, as here, are full of suggestion: cf. Baldwin (2) 64.

20. **subnexa:** Poetic and Silver.

21. **praenuntiationem** = 'prediction', is Eccl.: cf. Tert. Anim. 46; Aug. Serm. 101, 1.

24. **uoracitatem** = 'gluttony', is Late Latin: cf. Benoist-Goelz. and Georges s. v.

tertio, sextum quinto conectendo, tres bimembres circuitus decentissime faciat: unum quo calamitas imminens, alterum quo lectus impurus, tertium quo prodiga mensa monstretur.

19. Deinde luxuriosam remordet aurium uoluptatem. ubi cum dixisset, *qui canitis ad uocem psalterii,* quoniam potest exerceri sapienter a sapientibus musica, mirabili decore dicendi, inuectionis impetu relaxato, et non ad illos, sed de illis iam loquens, ut nos musicam sapientis a musica luxuriantis distinguere commoneret, non ait "qui canitis ad uocem psalterii, et sicut Dauid putatis uos habere uasa cantici;" sed cum illud ad illos dixisset, quod luxuriosi audire deberent, *qui canitis ad uocem psalterii,* imperitiam quoque eorum aliis quodammodo indicauit, adiungens, *sicut Dauid putauerunt se habere uasa cantici, bibentes in phialis uinum, et optimo unguento delibuti.* tria haec melius pronuntiantur, si suspensis duobus prioribus membris circuitus, tertio finiantur.

20. Iam uero quod his omnibus adicitur, *et nihil patiebantur super contritione Ioseph,* siue continuatim dicatur ut unum sit membrum, sius decentius suspendatur, *et nihil patiebantur,* et post hanc distinctionem inferatur, *super contritione Ioseph,* atque sit bimembris circuitus, miro decore non dictum est, "nihil patiebantur super contritione fratris," sed positus est pro "fratre," "Ioseph," ut quicumque frater proprio significaretur eius nomine,

2 quo lectus]collectus *DF.* 6 a *om I.* 9 ait]dicit *H.* 10 illud *om. E.* 12 quoque]quorum *H.* 13 se habere *om. E.* cantici uasa *E.* habentes *D.* et ad *F.* 15 circuitu *CDF.* finiatur *B*; firmatur *D.* 16 hiis *E.* 17 continuatum *DF.* ut]sit *D*; nec *E.* 19 super *om. F.* contritionem *F.* 20 et post hanc . . . patiebantur *in marg. F.* 21 super contritionem fratritionem fratris *D.* pro fratre Ioseph positus est *I.*

4. **remordet** = 'attacks', is not cited in the Lexica, though its development from the usual meaning 'vex' can be seen from the following examples: Lucr. 4, 1135: animus se forte remordet; Liv. 8, 4, 3: sin tandem libertatis desiderium remordet animos; Pelag. Epist. ad Demetr. 4: quid est, quod . . . conscientia remordemur?

7. **impetu relaxato, et . . . loquens:** the ablative absolute in Late Latin came to be looked upon as a real clause, and as such was often connected by a conjunction with a following verb: cf. Bonnet 559: nullam poterat uocem emittere sensu integro sed multatus uocis officio (having the use of his reason but being deprived of the use of his voice). See also St.-Schm. 448.

8. **distinguere commoneret:** *commonere* with the infinitive of command is Late, being used by Rufinus, Augustine, and Gregory the Great: cf. T. L. L. III, 1931, 63-70.

10. **ad illos,** in place of the dative, is common in Eccl. Latin, due to the influence of the Hebrew and the Greek: cf. T. L. L. I, 512, 30 ff.

11. **imperitiam:** not found in Caes. or Cic.; occurs in Sall. Iug. 38, and in Silver and Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

12. **indicauit, adiungens:** another form of the Eccl. stereotyped *dicens,*

voice the first, third, and fifth, and by connecting the second with the first, the fourth with the third, the sixth with the fifth, to make, very appropriately, three periods of two clauses each: one, to point out the impending calamity; the second, the unchaste couch; the third, the luxurious table.

19. Then he attacks the inordinate pleasure of the ears. And here having said, *You that sing to the sound of psaltery,* since the wise can use music wisely, he with admirable propriety checks his flow of invective, and now speaking not to them, but of them, in order to warn us to distinguish between the music of the wise, and the music of the licentious, he does not say, "You that sing to the sound of psaltery, and think you have instruments of music like David;" but when he has said to them what it behooves the licentious to hear, *You that sing to the sound of the psaltery,* he, after a manner, points out their ignorance to others, by adding, *They have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments.* These three *membra* are delivered in the best way, by holding suspended the first two members of the period, and rounding them out by the third.

20. But now as to what follows all this, *And they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph,* whether it be read straight through as one *membrum,* or whether more fittingly the words, *And they are not concerned,* be held suspended, and then after setting them off, *for the affliction of Joseph* be introduced, thus making a period of two *membra,* it is with rare propriety that the wording does not read thus, "And they are not concerned for the affliction of their brother," but in the place of 'brother', 'Joseph' is put, that brotherhood in general may be expressed by the proper name of one whose fame stands out from among brothers, whether as regards the evil which he suffered, or the good which he paid in re-

used to introduce a direct Biblical quotation: cf. St.-Schm. 606; 450.

14. **tria haec . . . finiantur:** another suggestion in regard to delivery, as also below, lines 16-20.

17. **continuatim:** Late. Augustine explains the word in Quaest. Hept. 2, 133: quod continuatim fieret, id est nullo die praetermitteretur: cf. T. L. L. IV, 725, 29-45.

18. **decentius:** this comparative is mostly Silver and Late: cf. T. L. L. V, 136, 55-58. Used again below in 22, 51.

cuius ex fratribus fama praeclara est, uel in malis quae pendit, uel in bonis quae rependit. iste certe tropus ubi Ioseph quemcumque fratrem facit intellegi, nescio utrum illa quam didicimus et docuimus, arte tradatur. quam sit tamen pulcher, et quemadmodum afficiat legentes atque intellegentes, non opus est cuiquam dici, si ipse non sentit.

21. Et plura quidem, quae pertineant ad praecepta eloquentiae, in hoc ipso loco, quem pro exemplo posuimus, possunt reperiri. sed bonum auditorem, non tam si diligenter discutiatur, instruit, quam si ardenter pronuntietur, accendit. neque enim haec humana industria composita, sed diuina mente sunt fusa et sapienter et eloquenter, non intenta in eloquentiam sapientia, sed a sapientia non recedente eloquentia. si enim, sicut quidam disertissimi atque acutissimi uiri uidere ac dicere potuerunt, ea quae oratoria uelut arte discuntur, non obseruarentur et notarentur, et in hanc doctrinam non redigerentur, nisi prius in oratorum inuenirentur ingeniis, quid mirum si et in istis inueniuntur, quos ille misit qui facit ingenia? quapropter et eloquentes quidem, non solum sapientes, canonicos nostros auctores doctoresque fateamur, tali eloquentia qualis personis eiusmodi congruebat.

8, 22. Sed nos etsi de litteris eorum, quae sine difficultate intel-

1 ex *om. E.* pendit id est pertulit *E.* 2 pendit uel in bonis quae *B.* certe] ergo *A.* 3 illa *om. DG.* 4 traditur *E.* qua *G.* 5 efficiat *F.* 7 pertinent *Maur.* 9 quam si] quasi *I.* 11 industria composita sed diuina *in marg. alia m. B.* fusa sunt]sunt infusa *C.* 14 uiri *om. I.* ac dicere]accendere *D.* uelut oratoria *EI Maur.* 15 dicuntur *C Mig.* 16 non *om. BC.* 17 fecit *BI.* 18 et *om. F.* 19 tali]dei *E*; *talia F.* eloquentia usos *CEGHI* (*Bad. Am. Et. et MSS septem* [*Maur.*]). 20 persona *E.* huiusmodi (*sic em.*) *B.* 21 etsi *om. E.*

1. **ex fratribus fama praeclara est:** Cicero uses *inter* and the acc., in a somewhat equivalent expression: Acad. 1, 4 16: suos inter aequales longe praestitit. Doubtless *ex* and the abl. is used here because the idea of 'place from which' is so strong ('from among brothers'). For the same reason *ex* and the abl. in Late Latin is often used for the partitive genitive: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 425; Salonius 89.

uel in malis quae pendit, uel in bonis quae rependit: antithesis, enforced by parallel structure and paronomasia.

2. **rependit** = 'repay', is Poetic Silver, and Late.

tropus, the Greek technical term for 'figure', was introduced by Cicero into Latin, although in general he himself employed *translatio* or *immutatio uerborum* in this sense. *Tropus* came into common use only in Silver Latin. Quint. (8, 6, 1) thus defines it: tropus est uerbi uel sermonis a propria significatione in aliam cum uirtute mutatio: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

3. **nescio utrum:** for *utrum* in a simple question, see 3, 4. With *nescio*, Cicero uses *-ne*, *e. g.* Fam. 2, 5. 2: sed haec ipsa nescio rectene sint litteris commissa: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

7. **et plura . . . accendit:** Augustine's method is one of suggestion rather than of exhaustive analysis. It is thus that he shows the real teacher's power to enliven his matter and to stimulate his hearers. Note how here again he lays stress on *pronuntiatio*. See Baldwin (2) 63-64.

turn. Really, I do not know whether that figure whereby 'Joseph' is made to express brotherhood in general is explained in that art which we have studied and taught. But what its beauty is, and how affecting it is to readers and men of thought, there is no need of telling a person if he does not feel it himself.

21. And indeed many more things which pertain to the rules of eloquence can be discovered in this same passage which we have taken as an example. But its value lies not so much in the instruction it affords a good audience if it be analyzed carefully, as in the sentiment it enkindles if it be read with feeling. For these words were not written by human industry, but were poured forth by Divine Intelligence, with wisdom and eloquence—wisdom not being intent on eloquence, but eloquence not deserting wisdom. For as certain very able and discerning orators have been able to perceive and state, if what is laid down in the so-called art of oratory could not be observed and noted and reduced to this discipline unless it were first found in the natural genius of orators, what wonder is there that it is found likewise in those men whom He has sent who fashions natural genius? Wherefore, let us claim that our canonical writers and doctors possessed eloquence too as well as wisdom—eloquence of such a kind as was fitting to men of their character.

8, 22. But though we take some examples from their writings which can without difficulty be understood, still we ought by no

9. **discutiatur** = 'analyzed', is Late, being used by Macrob. Som. Scip. 1, 5, 1; Tert.; Hier.; Aug.: cf. T. L. L. V, 1374, 67–1375, 8.

13. **sicut quidam . . . ingeniis**: cf. De Orat. 1, 32, 146: uerum ego hanc uim intellego esse in praeceptis omnibus non ut ea secuti oratores eloquentiae laudem sint adepti, sed, quae sua sponte homines eloquentes facerent, ea quosdam obseruasse atque egisse. Quint. 2, 17, 9: illud enim admonere satis est, omnia, quae ars consummauerit, a natura initia duxisse. De Doctr. Chris. 2, 36, 54: *nam neque hoc ab hominibus institutum est*, ut charitatis expressio conciliet auditorem, aut ut facile quod intendit, insinuet breuis et aperta narratio, et uarietas eius sine fastidio teneat intentos; et ceterae huiusmodi obseruationes, quae siue in falsis siue in ueris causis, uerae sunt tamen, in quantum uel sciri uel credi aliquid faciunt, aut ad expetendum fugiendumue animos mouent, *et inuentae potius quod ita se habeant, quam ut ita se haberent institutae.*

8. *The obscurity of the sacred writers accounted for, but not offered for imitation to the Christian teacher. Clearness, the first requisite of all oratory.*

21. **de litteris**: *de* in the local figurative sense is often substituted for *ex* or *ab:* cf. T. L. L. V, 50, 33 ff. For its frequent use with *sumere* in this sense, cf. T. L. L. V, 51, 39-40. See also 6, 9 for *de* = *ex*.

leguntur nonnulla sumimus elocutionis exempla, nequaquam tamen putare debemus imitandos nobis eos esse in iis quae ad exercendas et elimandas quodammodo mentes legentium, et ad rumpenda fastidia atque acuenda studia discere uolentium, celandos quoque, siue ut ad pietatem conuertantur, siue ut a mysteriis secludantur, animos impiorum, utili ac salubri obscuritate dixerunt. sic quippe illi locuti sunt, ut posteriores qui eos recte intellegerent et exponerent, alteram gratiam, disparem quidem, uerumtamen subsequentem in Dei ecclesia reperirent. non ergo expositores eorum ita loqui debent, tamquam se ipsi exponendos simili auctoritate proponant; sed in omnibus sermonibus suis primitus ac maxime ut intellegantur elaborent, ea quantum possunt perspicuitate dicendi, ut aut multum tardus sit qui non intellegat, aut in rerum quas explicare atque ostendere uolumus difficultate ac subtilitate non in nostra locutione sit causa qua minus tardiusue quod dicimus possit intellegi.

9, 23. Sunt enim quaedam quae ui sua non intelleguntur, aut uix intelleguntur, quantolibet et quantumlibet, quamuis planissime, dicentis uersentur eloquio; quae in populi audientiam, uel raro,

1 tamen *om. AB*. 2 eos nobis *I Maur*. his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E*. exercitandos *A*. 4 studio *D*. celandos](zelandos *MSS tres*; *sic etiam Bad. Am. et Er.* [*Maur.*]). 5 animi *B*. 7 eos recte intellegerent et exponerent]eos intellegentes exponerent *D*. 9 in Dei ecclesia subsequentem *E*. ecclesiam *A*. 10 debent ut *E*. se ipsi]se et ipsi *AB*; si et ipsi *D*; se ipsos *EI*. proponunt *D*. 12 ea]et *BD*; et haec *A*. quanta (*sic em.*) *E*. 13 intellegit *BDI*. 14 atque] at quas *D*; siue *E*; aut *F*. 15 quo *CGH Maur*. 17 ui]in *H*. 19 uersentur *in marg. alia m. E*; uersetur *A*. audientia *D*.

4. **siue ut . . . siue ut** occurs in Cicero, *e. g.* De Orat. 3, 6, 23: siue ut impellat homines siue ut doceat siue ut deterreat siue ut concitet siue ut reflectat siue ut incendat siue ut leniat . . . riuis est diducta oratio, non fontibus. Isolated examples of *siue quod* (*quia*) . . . *siue quod* (*quia*) likewise appear in Caesar and Livy: cf. St.-Schm. 780; K.-Steg. II, 2, 436. An example of *siue quia . . . siue quia* occurs in 10, 24.

7. **posteriores** is used in its true comparative sense, not as often in Late Latin as the unclassical equivalent of *posteri*.

9. **expositores:** Late: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

11. **primitus:** used in Early, Poetic, Silver, and Late Latin, but avoided by Class. writers who preferred *primum* or *primo:* cf. St.-Schm. 214; For. s. v.

12. **ut intellegantur elaborent:** cf. Arist. Rhet. 3, 5, 1407 b: *ὅλως δὲ δεῖ εὐανάγνωστον εἶναι τὸ γεγραμμένον καὶ εὔφραστον.*

ea . . . perspicuitate: cf. Arist. Rhet. 3, 2, 1404 b: *ὡρίσθω λέξεως ἀρετὴ σαφῆ εἶναι· σημεῖον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἐὰν μὴ δηλοῖ οὐ ποιήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον.* Quint. 8, 2, 1: perspicuitas in uerbis praecipuam habet proprietatem. Augustine treats 'clearness' at some length below, in chapter 10.

13. **multum tardus:** *multum* with a positive adjective, to replace the elative superlative, belongs to the colloquial speech: cf. St.-Schm. 462.

9. *Matters difficult of understanding, when necessary to be handled, should be presented with care for clearness, rather than for eloquence: 'plane' vs. 'ornate'.*

18. **quamuis planissime:** *quamuis* with the superlative is Silver Latin, though Cicero uses *quivis* with the

means to think that our authors are to be imitated by us in those places where they speak with useful and helpful obscurity, either to exercise and, as it were, to refine the minds of their readers, or to break down the prejudices and to whet the zeal of those who are willing to learn, or, too, to keep in the dark the minds of the wicked, either that they may be converted to a good life, or be excluded from the mysteries. Such, indeed, has been their manner of expressing themselves, that those following them, who have understood and expounded them aright have acquired distinction also in the Church of God, not in the same degree, of course, but next in order. Their interpreters, therefore, ought not to express themselves in such a way as if putting themselves forward to be interpreted with like authority; but in all their discourses they should labor, first and foremost, to be understood through their clearness of expression, in as far as this is possible, so that either he who does not understand is very slow of wit, or in the difficulty and subtlety of the matters which we wish to unfold and make clear, not in our manner of expressing them, lies the reason why what we say is not understood, or is understood but slowly.

9, 23. There are some matters, which in their true force are not intelligible, or scarcely intelligible, no matter how great the eloquence, nor how extended nor how clear the speaker's explanation. Such matters should be put before a popular assembly either rarely, if necessity urges, or not at all. In books, however, which are so written that they, so to speak, hold the reader to themselves, when

superlative: cf. De Orat. 3, 26, 103: quiuis uitiosissimus orator. See K.-Schm. s. v.; Gildersleeve 393. This appears again below on p. 90, l. 5: quamuis difficillima.

19. **quae . . . nunquam . . . mittenda sunt:** Augustine decidedly separates himself from the camp of the Sophists, known to Aristotle, to Quintilian, and no less to his own day: cf. Arist. Rhet. 3, 5, 1407 a: *ταῦτα δέ, ἂν μὴ τἀναντία προαιρῆται, ὅ περ ποιοῦσιν ὅταν μηθὲν μὲν ἔχωσι λέγειν προσποιῶνται δέ τι λέγειν.* Quint. 8, 2, 18: in hoc malum a quibusdam etiam laboratur; neque id nouum uitium est, cum iam apud Titum Liuium inueniam, fuisse praeceptorem aliquem, qui discipulos obscurare, quae dicerent, iuberet, Graeco uerbo utens *σκότισον.* unde illa scilicet egregia laudatio: *tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi.*

audientiam = 'a hearing', in the Class. period: cf. De Orat. 2, 80, 325: nam nonnulli, quom illud meditati ediderunt, sic ad reliqua transeunt, ut *audientiam* fieri sibi uelle non uideantur. Liv. 43, 16, 8: *audientiam* facere praeconem iussit. *Audientia* became increasingly concrete, until in Late Latin it meant 'audience', *e. g.* Salv. Epist. 4, 26: nec audientia humanior nec gratior fuit: cf. T. L. L. II, 1260, 19—1261, 33; K.-Schm. s. v.

si aliquid urget, uel numquam omnino mittenda sunt. in libris autem, qui ita scribuntur ut ipsi sibi quodammodo lectorem teneant cum intelleguntur, cum autem non intelleguntur molesti non sint nolentibus legere, et in aliquorum collocutionibus, non est hoc officium deserendum, ut uera, quamuis ad intellegendum difficillima, quae ipsi iam percepimus, cum quantocumque labore disputationis ad aliorum intellegentiam perducamus, si tenet auditorem uel collocutorem discendi cupiditas, nec mentis capacitas desit, quae quoquo modo intimata possit accipere, non curante illo qui docet, quanta eloquentia doceat, sed quanta euidentia.

10, 24. Cuius euidentiae diligens appetitus aliquando neglegit uerba cultiora, nec curat quid bene sonet, sed quid bene indicet atque intimet quod ostendere intendit. unde ait quidam, cum de tali

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3 non (intelleguntur) *om. F.* cum autem non intelleguntur *in marg. alia m. B.* 4 molentibus *Mig.*; uolentibus *DF.* (cum intelleguntur molesti non sint uolentibus legere: cum autem non intelleguntur molesti non sint nolentibus legere *in prius editis* [*Maur.*]). et iam *E.* hoc *om. EG.* 5 ad *om. I.* difficillima ad intellegendum *Maur.* 7 perducantur *E.* 9 quoquo]quo *CE.* 10 docet]doceat *F.* 11 diligentes *G.* 12 sonat *I.* 13 intimet et *E.*

4. **collocutionibus:** very rare, but Ciceronian: cf. T. L. L. III, 1649, 12-50.

non est . . . perducamus: cf. Aug. Contr. Cres. 1, 15, 19: qui autem uerus disputator est, id est, ueritatis a falsitate discretor, primo id apud se ipsum agit, ne non recte discernens ipse fallatur; quod nisi diuinitus adiutus peragere non potest: deinde, cum id quod apud se egit ad alios docendos profert, intuetur primitus quid iam certi nouerint, ut ex his eos adducat ad ea quae non nouerant uel credere nolebant, ostendens ea consequentia his quae iam scientia uel fide retinebant: ut per ea uera de quibus se perspiciunt consentire, cogantur alia uera quae negauerant approbare; et sic uerum quod falsum antea putabatur, discernatur a falso, cum inuenitur consentaneum illi uero quod iam antea tenebatur.

8. **collocutorem:** it is interesting to note this Late formation side by side with the preceding Class. noun of the same root. *Collocutor* is used by Tert., Aug., and other Late writers: cf. T. L. L. III, 1649, 69-75. For the frequent use of nouns in *-tor* in Late Latin, cf. St.-Schm. 790; Parsons 43.

capacitas mentis = 'comprehension', in Late Latin: cf. Ps. Aug. Serm. 223, 2: capacitatem intellegentiae meae: cf. T. L. L. III, 299, 72—300, 28. Classical Latin uses *uis percipiendi, indoles,* or *ingenium:* cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

9. **intimata** = 'things explained': cf. 4, 6. *Intimare* is used again below in 10, 24.

non curante . . . quanta euidentia: cf. Cicero's and Quintilian's regard for clearness: De Orat. 3, 10, 37-39: quinam igitur dicendi est modus melior—nam de actione post uidero—, quam ut Latine, ut *plane,* ut ornate, ut ad id, quodcumque agetur, apte congruenterque dicamus? Atque eorum quidem, quae duo prima dixi, rationem non arbitror exspectari a me puri dilucidique sermonis. neque enim conamur docere eum dicere, qui loqui nesciat; nec sperare, qui Latine non possit, hunc ornate esse dicturum; *neque uero, qui non dicat quod intellegamus, hunc posse quod admiremur dicere.* linguamus igitur haec, quae cognitionem habent facilem usum necessarium. nam alterum

they are intelligible, or when they are not intelligible are still not a burden to those who do not wish to read them, and in conversations with others, the duty ought not to be neglected of bringing the truth—though it may be most difficult to understand, which we, however, have already grasped—to the understanding of others, no matter what the labor of discussion, provided that the listener or interlocutor have the desire to be informed, and that mental capacity be not wanting to enable him to receive the information in whatever manner presented, the instructor attending not to the degree of eloquence with which he teaches, but to the degree of clearness.

10, 24. A studied leaning toward such clearness, at times neglects the more elegant expression, and has no concern for what sounds well, but for what tells and explains well what one aims to point out. And so it is that a certain authority says, in treating of such kind of speech, that it possesses a kind of careful negligence. Still,

traditur litteris doctrinaque puerili, alterum adhibetur ob eam causam, *ut intellegatur quid quisque dicat, quod uidemus ita esse necessarium, ut tamen eo minus nihil esse possit.* Quint. 8, 2, 22: nobis prima sit uirtus perspicuitas, propria uerba, rectus ordo, non in longum dilata conclusio; nihil neque desit neque superfluat. ita sermo et doctis probabilis et planus imperitis erit. haec eloquendi obseruatio . . . quare non, ut intellegere possit, sed, ne omnino possit non intellegere, curandum.

10. *'Elegantia' interpreted in its true sense, i. e. purity of language as governed by clearness, in the expression of truth: a repudiation of Sophistic.*

11. appetitus = *studium*, is Late: cf. Vulg. Ezech. 21, 16: uade . . . quocumque faciei tuae est appetitus; Sidon. Epist. 3, 14, 2; 4, 22, 4: cf. T. L. L. II, 282, 47-50.

13. ostendere intendit: the infinitive with *intendo* is cited for Caesar, Sallust, and Livy: cf. St.-Schm. 581; K.-Steg. II, 1, 667; For. s. v.

unde . . . quidam . . . neglegentiam: cf. Orat. 23, 77 ff.: solutum quiddam sit [orator submissus] nec uagum tamen, ut ingredi libere, non ut licenter uideatur errare. uerba etiam uerbis quasi coagmentare neglegat. habet enim ille tanquam hiatus et concursus uocalium molle quiddam et quod indicet non ingratam neglegentiam de re hominis magis quam de uerbis laborantis. sed erit uidendum de reliquis, cum haec duo ei liberiora fuerint, circuitus conglutinatioque uerborum. illa enim ipsa contracta et minuta non neglegenter tractanda sunt, sed *quaedam etiam neglegentia est diligens. . . .* tum remouebitur omnis insignis ornatus quasi margaritarum, ne calamistri quidem adhibebuntur; fucati uero medicamenta candoris et ruboris omnia repellentur; elegantia modo et munditia remanebit. sermo purus erit et Latinus, *dilucide planeque* dicetur, quid deceat circumspicietur; unum aberit, quod quartum numerat Theophrastus in orationis laudibus: ornatum illud, suaue et afluens. acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito erutae; ac —quod in hoc oratore dominabitur— uerecundus erit usus oratoriae quasi supellectilis.

genere elocutionis ageret, esse in ea quandam diligentem neglegentiam. haec tamen sic detrahit ornatum, ut sordes non contrahat. quamuis in bonis doctoribus tanta docendi cura sit, uel esse debeat, ut uerbum quod nisi obscurum sit uel ambiguum, latinum esse non potest, uulgi autem more sic dicitur ut ambiguitas obscuritasque uitetur, non sic dicatur ut a doctis, sed potius ut ab indoctis dici Psal. 15, 4 solet. si enim non piguit dicere interpretes nostros, *non congregabo conuenticula eorum de sanguinibus,* quoniam senserunt ad rem pertinere, ut eo loco pluraliter enuntiaretur hoc nomen, quod in latina lingua singulariter tantummodo dicitur, cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem, *ossum* potius quam *os* dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo quod sunt *ossa,* sed ab eo quod sunt *ora* intelle-

1 genere tali *BDFI*; genere talis *E*. locutionis *A Maur.* eam *A*. 2 detrahit]trahit *A*. 4 ut]nec *I*. 6 uidetur *DE*. 7 enim]ergo *BF*. 10 tantummodo singulariter *Maur.* 11 dicere os *EI*. 12 ab eo]habeo *DG*. quod sunt ossa sed ab eo *om. G*.

2. **haec detrahit . . . contrahit:** this admonition is most important in view of the radical concession made below as to the sacrifice of *Latinitas* (*i.e.* purity of phrase), if that be necessary, in order to secure clearness of expression. Augustine may depart from the classical norm in regard to the admission even of barbarism in speech, but he will not countenance *common* expressions.

sordes = 'vulgarities of speech', is Silver and Late Latin: cf. Tac. Dial. de Orat. 21: sordes uerborum et hians compositio et inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem. An equivalent term is 'sordida verba', *e. g.* Quint. 8, 3, 17: nec sordidis uerbis in oratione erudita locus.

3. **quamuis . . . dicatur:** *quamuis* as a corrective appears in the poets from Propertius on, and in prose from Celsus on into Late Latin: cf. Juret (1) 165.

4. **latinum esse:** the traditional requisites of an orator's language were *elegantia, compositio,* and *dignitas.* For an explanation of the meaning of *elegantia,* cf. Ad Her. 4, 12, 17: elegantia est, quae facit, ut unum quidque *pure* et aperte dici uideatur. haec tribuitur in Latinitatem et explanationem. Latinitas est, quae sermonem *purum* conseruat ab omni uitio remotum. uitia in sermone, quo minus is Latinus sit, duo possunt esse: soloecismus et barbarismus. Cicero also identifies *Latinitas* and integrity of speech: cf. Orat. 23, 79: sermo purus erit et Latinus, dilucide planeque dicetur; De Orat. 3, 11, 40: atque ut Latine loquamur, non solum uidendum est, ut et uerba efferamus ea, quae nemo iure reprehendat, et ea sic et casibus et temporibus et genere et numero conseruemus, ut ne quid perturbatum ac discrepans aut praeposterum sit, sed etiam lingua et spiritus et uocis sonus est ipse moderandus. Augustine, therefore, departs from the strict classical norm, in what he teaches below: uulgi—dici solet, and in his following vindication of the use of *ossum* for *os*. Quintilian also advocates the use of ordinary, everyday

while this discountenances florid expressions, it does not countenance vulgar ones. And yet good teachers have, or ought to have such care in teaching that a word which cannot be expressed in good Latin except obscurely and ambiguously, but which as given in the common idiom, has neither ambiguity nor obscurity, should be expressed not as the cultured, but rather as the uncultured are wont to express it. For if our translators have not hesitated to say, *I will not gather together their meetings for blood offerings,* since they consider that the subject matter called for the plural use of the noun in this place, though in good Latin this word is used only in the singular, then why should a teacher of righteousness when addressing the unlettered, hesitate to use *ossum* for *os* for fear lest this word might be understood as coming not from the same form as *ossa,* but from the same form as *ora,* since the African ear does not distinguish between short and long vowels? For what is the good of correctness of speech if the understanding of the hearer does not follow it, since there is absolutely no reason for

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expressions (*e. g.* 8, 2, 24: quae causa utique nostra culpa dicta obscurius est: ab planiora et communia magis uerba descendimus) but he wholly repudiates whatever is offensive to purity of speech: cf. 1, 5, 5: prima barbarismi ac soloecismi foeditas absit.

9. **ut eo loco . . . dicitur:** Quintilian would class this as a barbarism. He gives a similar example in 1, 5, 16: *scala* tamen et *scopa* contraque *hordea* et *mulsa,* . . . non alio uitiosa sunt, quam quod pluralia singulariter et singularia pluraliter efferuntur.

pluraliter = 'in the plural'; a technical term, in Cicero.

enuntiaretur = 'express': used for the most part only in Cic. and Quint., in rhetorical and grammatical explanations.

10. **singulariter** = 'in the singular', only in Quintilian and Late writers. In classical usage it means 'especially', *e. g.* Cic. Verr. 2, 117: singulariter diligere.

11. **ossum potius quam os:** an example such as this is catalogued as a barbarism by Quintilian (1, 5, 10): tertium est illud uitium barbarismi, cuius exempla uulgo sunt plurima . . . ut uerbo, cui libebit, adiiciat litteram syllabamue uel detrahat. Augustine, therefore, here lays himself open to Cicero's stinging words: nemo enim unquam est oratorem, quod Latine loqueretur, admiratus. *si est aliter, irrident, neque eum oratorem tantummodo sed hominem non putant* (De Orat. 3, 14, 52).

12. **non ab eo:** derivation (origin), expressed by *ab* is cited for Cic., Sall., Varro, etc.: cf. T. L. L. I, 25, 59—26, 43.

gatur, ubi Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant? quid enim prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis, cum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intellegunt, propter quos ut intellegant loquimur? qui ergo docet, uitabit verba omnia quae non docent; et si pro eis alia, quae intellegantur integra, potest dicere, id magis eliget; si autem non potest, siue quia non sunt, siue quia in praesentia non occurrunt, utetur etiam uerbis minus integris, dum tamen res ipsa doceatur atque discatur integre.

2 inducant (indicant *supra*) F. 3 loquendis *F*. 4 quos]quod (*sic em.*) *B*. 5 omnia uerba *Maur*. decent *I*. 6 integra quae intellegantur *Maur*. 7 eligat *B* (*sic em.*), *EFH*; eligit *I*. 8 utatur *B* (*sic em.*), *E*; utitur *I*. 9 integrem *D*.

1. **ubi Afrae aures . . . non iudicant:** Reynolds (6) points out that the reference here is only to the masses. In Augustine's own studied use of classical clausulae in *De Ciuitate Dei*, sufficient proof can be found that in his case and in that of the cultured reading public in Africa, the provincial ear had been trained to Roman appreciation of long and short syllables. North Africa at the time, however, was a country of numerous nationalities and languages. Augustine confessed (De Ord. 2, 17, 45) that he himself spoke Latin with a provincial accent, since Punic was his native tongue. The precautions, therefore, that he here takes in order to reach his audience do not seem strange. On the medley of races and customs in Africa at the time, cf. Bertrand 106-107: " Pourtant, cette unité romaine ne doit pas nous faire illusion. Derrière la façade imposante qu'elle offrait d'un bout à l'autre de la Méditerranée, la diversité des peuples avec leurs moeurs, leurs traditions, leur religion particulière, subsistait toujours, en Afrique plus qu'ailleurs. La population de Carthage était étonnement mélangée. La caractère hybride de ce pays sans unité s'y reflétait dans la bigarrure des foules carthaginoises. Tous les échantillons des races africaines s'y coudoyaient dans les rues, depuis le nègre amené de son Soudan natal par les marchands d'esclaves, jusqu'au Numide romanisé. L'affux sans cesse renouvelé des trafiquants et des aventuriers cosmopolites augmentait encore cette confusion. Et ainsi Carthage était une Babel de races, de coutumes, de croyances, et d'idées."

ubi: the use of *ubi* as a true causal particle is cited once for Cic. (Quinct. 71), but otherwise belongs to Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 767; Gildersleeve 362.

correptione: *correptio*, opposed to *productio*, is used by Vitruvius, and thence often by grammarians, Silver and Late: cf. Quint. 9, 3, 69: uoces . . . aut productione tantum uel correptione mutatae: cf. T. L. L. IV, 1030, 50-71.

2. **quid . . . prodest locutionis integritas, etc.:** in De Catech. Rud. 9, 13, also, Augustine gives purity of diction second place—there, to integrity of character: discant non contemnere quos cognouerint morum uitia quam uerborum amplius deuitare, et cordi casto linguam exercitatam nec conferre audeant. He excuses barbarisms and solecisms in a preacher, if the latter has love of God: nouerint etiam non esse uocem ad aures dei nisi animi affectum; ita enim non irridebunt, si aliquos antistites et ministros ecclesiae forte animaduerterint *uel barbarismis et soloecismis deum inuocare*, uel eadem uerba quae pronuntiant non intellegere perturbateque distinguere. Again, in Conf. 1, 18, 29, he says: uide quo-

speaking if they for whose instruction we speak are not instructed by our speaking. ⁱ And so, one who teaches will avoid all words which do not teach; and if in place of them he can use other correct expressions which are intelligible, he will choose these by preference, but if he cannot, either because they do not exist, or because they do not occur to him at the moment, he will use words even less correct, provided, however, that the matter itself be taught and learned correctly.

modo diligenter obseruent filii hominum pacta litterarum et syllabarum . . . et aeterna pacta perpetuae salutis neglegant. And in Contr. Adu. Leg. 1, 24, 52: Deus magis morum quam uerborum pulchritudinem quaerens atque munditiam.

3. **intellectus audientis:** Cicero in De Orat. 3, 13, 48 ff. sums up the means considered sufficient by the classical orator in order to reach his audience: neque uero in illo altero diutius commoraremur, ut disputemus quibus rebus assequi possimus, ut ea quae dicamus intellegantur: *Latine scilicet dicendo*, uerbis usitatis ac proprie demonstrantibus ea quae significari ac declarari uolemus, sine ambiguo uerbo aut sermone, non nimis longa continuatione uerborum, non ualde productis iis quae similitudinis causa ex aliis rebus transferuntur, non discerptis sententiis, non praeposteris temporibus, non confusis personis, non perturbato ordine. But Augustine would go further!

4. **si quod . . . loquimur:** to make oneself understood is of course also with Cicero the *sine qua non* of good oratory: cf. De Orat. 3, 14, 52: nemo extulit eum uerbis, qui ita dixisset, ut qui adessent intellegerent quid diceret, *sed contempsit eum, qui minus id facere potuisset.*

5. **uitabit uerba omnia quae non docent:** Augustine refers to the second quality of *elegantia*, named above, viz. *explanatio*, defined thus in Ad Her. 4, 12, 17: explanatio est, quae reddit apertam et dilucidam orationem. ea comparatur duabus rebus, usitatis uerbis et propriis. usitata sunt ea quae uersantur in sermonis consuetudine cotidiana; propria, quae eius rei uerba sunt aut esse possunt, qua de loquemur. Cicero (Orat. 24, 80) explains the matter in like terms, coupling, however, *ornatus* with *explanatio:* simplex probatur in propriis usitatisque uerbis, quod aut optime sonat aut rem explanat.

6. **integra,** the adjective, is not used until Late Latin with the meaning 'grammatically correct', though its corresponding noun and adverb are classical in this meaning. For *integritas*, cf. Cic. Brut. 35, 132: incorrupta quaedam Latini sermonis integritas; for *integre*, cf. Cic. Opt. Gen. 4, 12, and Gell. 13, 6: pure atque integre locuti sunt. Augustine is here reiterating his acceptance of that which is unacceptable to classical *Latinitas.*

7. **si autem . . . siue quia non sunt, . . . integris:** but Quintilian (1, 5, 71) says: usitatis tutius utimur, noua non sine quodam periculo fingimus.

8. **dum tamen res ipse doceatur . . . integre:** cf. Aug. De Catech. Rud. 9, 13: his enim maxime utile est nosse, ita esse praeponendas uerbis sententias ut praeponitur animus corpori. As for Augustine's own practice, cf. Bertrand 162-63: "Enfin sa phrase écrite ou parlée était dépourvue du brillant, des ingénieuses recherches d'expression qui plaisaient dans les cercles lettrés et mondains. Cet écrivain d'une fécondité inépuisable n'est point du tout un styliste. A cet égard, il est inférieur à un Apulée, à un Tertullien, s'il les laisse bien loin derrière lui *pour la sincérité* et la profondeur du sentiment, le lyrisme, la couleur, l'emportement des métaphores, et, avec cela, l'onction, la suavité de l'accent."

25. Et hoc quidem non solum in collocutionibus, siue fiant cum aliquo uno, siue cum pluribus, uerum etiam multo magis in populis quando sermo promitur, ut intellegamur instandum est. quia in collocutionibus est cuique interrogandi potestas, ubi autem omnes tacent ut audiatur unus, et in eum intenta ora conuertunt, ibi ut requirat quisque quod non intellexerit, nec moris est nec decoris; ac per hoc debet maxime tacenti subuenire cura dicentis. solet autem motu suo significare utrum intellexerit cognoscendi auida multitudo; quod donec significet, uersandum est quod agitur, multimoda uarietate dicendi, quod in potestate non habent, qui praeparata et ad uerbum memoriter retenta pronuntiant. mox autem ut intellectum esse constiterit, aut sermo finiendus, aut in alia transeundum est, sicut enim gratus est qui cognoscenda enubilat, sic onerosus qui cognita inculcat, eis duntaxat quorum tota ex-

1 locutionibus *A*. 2 uno *om. E*. etiam et *AB*. 3 proditur *C*. intellegatur *BCF* (*sic em.*), *EI*. 5 ut (audiatur) *om. D*. 6 quisquis *E*. 8 autem]enim *BDF*. 10 non *om. A*. 12 ut autem *AD*. constituerit *F*. 13 est gratus *D*. 14 onerosus est *Maur.*

1. **non solum in collocutionibus . . . quando promitur:** again in De Catech. Rud. 15, 23, Augustine differentiates between instruction given to a few in private and after a fashion familiarly, and a sermon properly so called, delivered to a congregation. With true pedagogical instinct, he recognizes wherein these are to be handled alike, wherein differently.

2. **populis = 'throngs':** Poetic, Silver, and Late Latin.

3. **ut intellegamur instandum est:** this was Augustine's own practice: cf. Serm. 131, 9: paucos intellexisse uideo, plures non intellexisse, quos ego nequaquam tacendo fraudabo. *Ibid.* 23, 8: iam multos uestrum intellexisse non dubito. non uideo, sed ex collocutione, quia loquimini ad alterutrum, sentio eos qui intellexerunt, uelle exponere iis qui nondum intellexerunt. *ergo planius aliquanto dicam, ut ad omnes perueniat.*

4. **ubi . . . omnes tacent . . . conuertunt:** cf. De Catech. Rud. 15, 23: cum populus tacens unum de loco superiore dicturum suspensus intuetur. That this attention however was not always usual, is proved by the frequent reproofs and exhortations to silence found in the Sermons of Augustine: cf. Deferrari 205-207.

7. **per hoc = 'therefore',** is frequent in Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 521; Bonnet 591; Goel. (2) 171; Adams 36; Arts 25. It occurs many times below.

debet maxime . . . cura dicentis: e. g. in Tract. XI in Euang. S. Ioan. VIII, Augustine repeats a statement entire in order to bring it home to his hearers: in omnibus enim christianis, fratres intendite, aut per malos nascuntur boni, aut per bonos nascuntur mali, aut per bonos boni, aut per malos mali: amplius istis quattuor generibus non potestis inuenire. quare iterum repetam, aduertite, retinete; excutite corda uestra, nolite pigri esse: capite, ne capiamini, quomodo quattuor genera sunt omnium christianorum *aut per bonos nascuntur boni, aut per malos nascuntur mali, aut per bonos mali, aut per malos boni. puto quia planum est.* Quintilian (8, 2, 23) likewise advocates such clearness in discourse as to impose one's conclusions upon the mind of the judge with the same blinding force as that of sun in the eyes: nam si neque pauciora, quam oportet, neque plura neque in-

25. And this indeed must be insisted upon, that we may be understood, not only in conversations with one person or with several, but also much more when a sermon is being delivered before assemblies. For in conversations, each one has the opportunity of questioning; but when all are quiet, that one may be heard, and all are turned toward him with fixed attention, then it is neither customary nor proper for any one to ask about what he has not understood, and for this reason it should be the special concern of the speaker to assist the silent listener. But an assembly eager to learn generally shows by some movement whether it has understood, and until it does show this, the matter in hand ought to be presented in many different forms; but this they have not the power of doing who deliver word for word what they have prepared and committed to memory. However, as soon as it is clear that the matter has been understood, the discourse ought to be ended, or to pass on to other

ordinata aut indistincta dixerimus: erunt dilucida et neglegenter quoque audientibus aperta; quod et ipsum in consilio est habendum, non semper tam esse acrem iudicis intentionem, ut obscuritatem apud se ipse discutiat et tenebris orationis inferat quoddam intellegentiae suae lumen, sed multis eum frequenter cogitationibus auocari, nisi tam clara fuerint, quae dicemus, ut in animum eius oratio, ut sol in oculos, etiamsi in eam non intendatur, incurrat.

9. **uersandum est . . . uarietate dicendi** cf. Quint. 8, 2, 24: propter quod etiam repetimus saepe, quae non satis percepisse eos, qui cognoscunt, putamus. Augustine himself expresses the same thought in De Catech. Rud. 13, 18: sed re uera multum est perdurare in loquendo usque ad terminum praestitutum, cum moueri non uidemus audientem; quod siue non audeat, religionis timore constrictus, uoce aut aliquo motu corporis significare approbationem suam, siue humana uerecundia reprimatur: siue dicta non intellegat, siue contemnat; quando quidem nobis non cernentibus animum eius incertum est, *omnia sermone tentanda sunt, quae ad eum excitandum* et tanquam de latebris eruendum possint ualere.

multimoda: Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; Goel. (1) 169.

10. **quod in potestate . . . pronuntiant**: Augustine is clearly advocating extempore address. That this was the method of preaching used by such renowned speakers as Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Pope Faustus, Jerome, and especially Augustine himself, is shown by Deferrari 97-123; 193-211.

11. **mox ut . . . constiterit . . . finiendus**, as was A.'s own custom: cf. Deferrari 207-208.

mox ut = ‘as soon as’, is Late: cf. St.-Schm. 759; K.-Steg. II, 2, 365. It occurs several times in the Confessions: cf. Arts 102.

13. **enubilat** = ‘makes clear’, is Late: cf. Tert. Anim. 3: ea erunt christianis enubilanda.

14. **sic onerosus . . . inculcat**: cf. De Catech. Rud. 13, 18: quaerendum etiam de illo utrum haec aliquando iam audierit, *et fortassis eum tamquam nota et peruulgata non moueant;* et agendum pro eius responsione, ut aut planius et enodatius loquamur, aut opinionem contrariam refellamus, *aut ea quae illi nota sunt non explicemus latius*, sed breuius complicemus. For A.'s own practice, cf. Enarrat. 2, 1, 12 in Psalm. 32: quamuis ergo, fratres, psalmi plura restent consulendum est tamen uiribus et animae et corporis propter uarietatem audientium. Serm. 348,

spectatio in dissoluenda eorum, quae panduntur, difficultate pendebat. nam delectandi gratia etiam nota dicuntur, ubi non ipsa sed modus quo dicuntur attenditur. quod si et ipse iam notus est, atque auditoribus placet, pene nihil interest utrum is qui dicit, dictor an lector sit. solent enim et ea quae commode scripta sunt, non solum ab iis quibus primitus innotescunt, iucunde legi; uerum ab iis etiam quibus iam nota sunt, neque adhuc illa de memoria deleuit obliuio, non sine iucunditate relegi, uel ab utrisque libenter audiri. quae autem quisque iam oblitus est, cum commoneretur, docetur. sed de modo delectandi nunc non ago; de modo quo docendi sunt qui discere desiderant, loquor. is est autem optimus, quo fit ut qui audit, uerum audiat, et quod audit intellegat. ad quem finem cum uentum fuerit, nihil tunc amplius de ipsa re tamquam diutius docenda laborandum est, sed forte de commendanda ut in corde figatur; quod si faciendum uidebitur, ita modeste faciendum est, ne perueniatur ad taedium.

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1 penduntur *G*; pandantur *Mig.* 3 motus *F.* quod si et ipse]quod et si ipse *E*; quod si et ipsi *F.* 4 his *A.* 5 an]uel *EI Maur.* et *om. CEHI*; et]ut *G.* 6 his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E.* 7 ab *om. E.* his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E.* etiam *om. E.* 9 oblitus est iam *A.* 10 non *om. E.* 11 autem est *I Maur.* 12 uero *I.* quod]qui *E.* 14 docendo *D.*

4: de quo latius dicerem, nisi sermo iam longior et meis senilibus uiribus, et uestrae fortasse satietati parcere cogeret.

onerosus = *molestus*, is Poetic and Silver.

2. **nam delectandi . . . dicuntur:** cf. De Orat. 3, 30, 121: non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua est, sed onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum suauitate, copia, uarietate. *Ibid.* 3, 31, 125: rerum enim copia uerborum copiam gignit; et, si est honestas in rebus ipsis de quibus dicitur, existit ex re naturalis quidam splendor in uerbis.

3. **modus,** *i. e.* in the middle style, whose aim is to please.

5. **dictor:** another formation in *-tor*, belonging to Late Latin: cf. T. L. L. V, 1014, 48-64.

commode = 'pleasingly', is used in early Latin, though also by Cicero (cf. Verr. 5, 95; De Orat. 2, 83, 240), then in Late Latin: cf. T. L. L. III, 1926, 3-18.

6. **innotescunt,** used absolutely, is Silver and Late.

8. **relegi** = 'reread', is mostly Poetic.

11. **discere desiderant:** *desidero* with the infinitive, though found in Cicero and occasionally in Silver Latin, becomes common only in the Late period: cf. T. L. L. V, 707, 9-42; K.-Steg. II, 1, 676. It occurs again in 11, 26.

is est . . . intellegat: this thought is developed below in chapters 23 and 25. With St. Augustine, the *genus temperatum* has no justification for existence by itself alone. A. stands severely apart from the Sophists.

15. **corde:** *cor* as the seat of feeling or of thought, occurs generally in the poets, and in the language of the people, but is avoided in prose up to the time of Fronto. In Eccl. Latin it is often used also for *anima:* cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; T. L. L. IV, 930, 17-25. It occurs several times below: 15, 32; 24, 53; 26, 58; 27, 59.

16. **ne perueniat:** *ne* for *ut non* is sometimes used in a result clause when the result implies an effect in-

things. For though one gives pleasure when he clears up matters that need to be made understood, he becomes wearisome when he keeps hammering at things which are already understood, at least to those men whose whole expectation was centered in the solution of the difficulty in the matter under discussion. It is true that for the sake of giving pleasure, even well-known things are talked over; when, not the facts themselves, but the manner in which they are expressed, holds the attention. And if this itself also is now well known, and is popular with the audience, it makes almost no difference whether the man talking be a speaker or a reader. For generally, things which are attractively written are also read with pleasure, not only by those who come to know them for the first time; but even by those who have already made their acquaintance, and from whose memory they have not yet been effaced, are they reread not without pleasure; or they are listened to willingly by both classes. On the other hand, what a person has forgotten, when it is recalled to him, he learns again. But I am not now treating of how to please; I am speaking of how they are to be taught who desire instruction. That, indeed, is the best method, which results in the listener hearing the truth, and understanding what he hears. When this end has been attained, then there should be no further effort toward expounding the matter longer, as it were, but perhaps toward commending it, so that it may be fixed deep in the heart; but if it seem that this ought to be done, it must be done with such moderation as not to lead to weariness.

tended, *e. g.* Cic. Fam. 6, 7, 6: ita corrigas ne mihi noceat.

taedium: not frequent until after the classical period.—In comparison with classical rigidity in the matter of *integritas*, Augustine's views would seem at first radical and dangerous, as admitting of extravagant deviation from the standards of the best Latin. Lezat (35-36) sees in Augustine's disregard of the classical norm on the question of *Latinitas* an important cause of the degeneration of the language in the hands of succeeding generations. A study, however, of the Latinity of Augustine and of the great contemporary writers reveals that on the whole these writers, far from going to the extreme in admitting nonclassical forms and constructions, are in reality dominated by classical standards, and that where, as in the case of Augustine, the influence of the prevalent usage caused a tendency toward archaism, colloquialism, and neologism, these uses still form but a very conservative part of the writer's language. The studies on St. Augustine's syntax made in the Catholic University Patristic series show that in the *De Ciuitate Dei* and in the Confessions, Augustine's deviations from Ciceronian Latin are on the whole but little more marked than those of the writ-

11, 26. Prorsus haec est in docendo eloquentia, qua fit dicendo, non ut libeat quod horrebat, aut ut fiat quod pigebat, sed ut appareat quod latebat. quod tamen si fiat insuauiter, ad paucos quidem studiosissimos suus peruenit fructus, qui ea quae discenda sunt, quamuis abiecte inculteque dicantur, scire desiderant. quod cum adepti fuerint, ipsa delectabiliter ueritate pascuntur; bonorumque ingeniorum insignis est indoles, in uerbis uerum amare, non uerba. quid enim prodest clauis aurea, si aperire quod uolumus non potest? aut quid obest lignea si hoc potest? quando nihil quaerimus nisi patere quod clausum est. sed quoniam inter se habent nonnullam similitudinem uescentes atque discentes, propter fastidia plurimorum, etiam ipsa sine quibus uiui non potest, alimenta condienda sunt.

1 in *om. E.* quae *D.* dicendum *A*; docendo *E.* 4 suus peruenit] superuenit *G.* dicenda *H.* 5 inculteque] inculte qui *B.* 7 indolis *CDF.* 8 enim] si *E.* 9 nihil est *F.* 11 dicentes *D.*

ers of the Silver Age. Arts states that in the Confessions, Augustine's language contains little or nothing of what we understand by 'Vulgar Latin' in the strict sense of the term (cf. Colbert 99-101; Arts 120-27). A study of Augustine's Letters shows the importance of the colloquial element, and in matter of neologisms reveals a great freedom of derivation; still it likewise proves that Augustine is decidedly classical, since in nearly every word-category used in the Letters the classical forms exceed the Late words (cf. Parsons 269-77). A comparison of the classical and non-classical words in the present treatise leads to a similar conclusion. It seems safe, therefore, to state that Augustine's opposition to the classical norm appears more radical in his statement of it than it was in his own practice. He realized that language to remain living must change; but by making good usage, as influenced by popular expression and the exigencies of the popular understanding, the arbiter of that change, he advocated a language strong in its classical traditions, and at the same time vital in its reflection of the living thought of the day. Moreover, the present avowal of his preference for clearness before *integritas* was occasioned, as Baldwin (2, 65) suggests, by his desire to offset the boasted correctness of the Sophists, which was carried by them to the extreme of over-refining the language by a rigid maintenance of the ideals of the past. The middle ground taken by Augustine shows the sanity of his views. In *De Ordine* 2, 17, 45, he says: soloecismos autem quos dicimus, fortasse quisque doctus diligenter attendens in oratione mea reperiet. non enim defuit qui mihi nonnulla huiusmodi uitia ipsum Ciceronem fecisse peritissime persuaserit. He is obviously slurring the Sophists and their correctness, which could not only find faults in contemporaries, but even in Cicero himself. To combat this ultra-classical correctness, he makes the statements above, which at first sight appear radical and unclassical. That he is not so in reality is proved by his actual practice.

11. *A concession, because of popular taste, of a moderate use of 'ornatus' to the office of 'docere'.*

1. **prorsus haec . . . latebat:** cf. Arist. Rhet. 3, 1, 1404 a: τό γε δίκαιον

11, 26. This, of course, is eloquence in teaching, whereby the result is attained in speaking, not that what was distasteful becomes pleasing, nor that what one was unwilling to do is done, but that what was obscure becomes clear. Still, if this be done in an unpleasing manner, its fruit falls to the very few zealous persons, forsooth, who are eager for the knowledge which is proposed for instruction, no matter how meanly and inelegantly it be explained. When they have once gained this end, they feast upon the truth itself with delight; and it is the fine characteristic of great minds that they love the truth in words, not just the words. For what is the use of a golden key if it cannot open what we want it to? Or what is the objection to a wooden one if it can do so, since we are asking nothing save that what is closed be opened? But as eating and learning have a certain similarity one to the other, because of the natural fastidiousness of most people, even the very food which is necessary for life's sustenance must have seasoning.

μηδὲν πλείω ζητεῖν περιτὸν λόγον, ἢ ὡς μήτε λυπεῖν μήτ’ εὐφραίνειν. δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥστε τἆλλα ἔξω τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι περίεργα ἐστίν. The Stoics, following Aristotle's emphasis on the pragmatic, elaborated the dialectical aspect of rhetorical proof, but unlike Aristotle, due to their general doctrine of *ἀπάθεια*, excluded in large measure that phase of rhetoric which has to do with emotional appeal. See De Orat. 1, 53, 229, for an instance of the Stoic ideal, Rutilius Rufus, of whom Cicero says: ne ornatius quidem aut liberius causam dici suam, quam simplex ratio ueritatis ferebat. This describes of course the plain style: ut probemus uera esse quae defendimus (De Orat. 2, 27, 115).

2. **horrebat** = 'was distasteful', is rare, being mostly Poetic.

3. **si fiat . . . peruenit fructus:** cf. De Orat. 3, 11, 41: nolo uerba exiliter exanimata exire. Ad Her. 4, 11, 16: qui non possunt in illa *facetissima* uerborum *attenuatione* commode uersari, ueniunt ad aridum et exsangue genus orationis, quod non alienum est exile nominari. *Ornatus* and the middle style (*ad delectandum*) find their proper use in aiding the plain style (*ad docendum*). Augustine develops this point in 25, 55.

6. **delectabiliter:** Late: cf. T. L. L. V, 418, 59.

pascuntur: largely Poetic, but used by Cicero, *e. g.* De Off. 2, 11: ne illi quidem, qui maleficio et scelere pascuntur, possint sine ulla particula iustitiae uiuere.

bonorum . . . non uerba: a subtle thrust at the Sophists.

9. **quaerimus . . . patere:** *quaerere* with the infinitive occurs in the poets and in Silver Latin: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 667.

10. **sed quoniam . . . condienda sunt:** cf. Cicero's concession of *suauitas* to the plain style: et contra tenues acuti, omnia docentes et dilucidiora, non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati; in eodemque genere alii callidi, sed impoliti et consulto rudium similes et imperitorum, *alii in eadem ieiunitate concinniores id est faceti, florentes etiam et leuiter ornati* (Orat. 6, 21).

12, 27. Dixit ergo quidam eloquens, et uerum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat. deinde addidit, *docere necessitatis est, delectare suauitatis, flectere uictoriae.* horum trium quod primo loco positum est, hoc est docendi necessitas, in rebus est constituta quas dicimus; reliqua duo, in modo quo dicimus. qui ergo dicit cum docere uult, quamdiu non intellegitur, nondum se existimet dixisse quod uult ei quem uult docere. quia etsi dixit quod ipse intellegit, nondum illi dixisse putandus est, a quo intellectus non est; si uero intellectus est, quocumque modo dixerit, dixit. quod si etiam delectare uult eum cui dicit, aut

1 ergo]enim *BDF*. 2 delectat *E*. flectet *B*. 3 suauitatis est *CE*. 4 obpositum *F*. 5 quo]quod *D*. dicimus docendi *I*. 6 intellegetur *Mig*. 7 ei]ille *B*. 8 intellexit *BDE*. ei *E*. 9 si uero intellectus est *om. I*. 10 eum]ei *E*. dixit *I*.

12. *The 'officia' of the orator: 'docere', 'delectare', 'flectere': their meaning, relation, and culmination.*

1. **dixit . . . uictoriae:** cf. Orat. 21, 69: erit igitur eloquens—hunc enim auctore Antonio quaerimus—is qui in foro causisque ciuilibus ita dicet, *ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. probare necessitatis est, delectare suauitatis, flectere uictoriae:* nam id unum ex omnibus ad optinendas causas potest plurimum. See also De Orat. 2, 27, 115. Though Augustine substitutes *doceat* for *probet*, he does not in reality misquote the thought of Cicero, as is shown by the fact that in very many of the other places where Cicero explains these functions, he himself uses *docere* for *probare*, *e.g.* De Orat. 2, 28, 121: quibus ex locis ad eas tris res, quae ad fidem faciendam solae ualent, ducatur oratio, *ut et concilientur animi et doceantur et mouentur; ibid.* 2, 77, 310: tribus rebus homines ad nostram sententiam perducimus, *aut docendo aut conciliando aut permouendo;* Brut. 49, 185: tria sunt enim, ut quidem ego sentio, quae sint efficienda dicendo: *ut doceatur is, apud quem dicetur, ut delectetur, ut moueatur uehementius;* De Opt. Gen. 1, 3: optumus est enim orator qui dicendo animos audientium *et docet et delectat et permouet. docere debitum est, delectare honorarium, permouere necessarium; ibid.* 5, 16: necesse est tamen oratori, quem quaerimus, controuersias explicare forenses dicendi genere apto *ad docendum, ad delectandum, ad permouendum.* These three *officia oratoris* are derived from the Aristotelian division of *πίστεις*, which in spite of Stoic elaboration of the pragmatic aspect of rhetoric at the expense of the emotional, continued for centuries to be the prevailing one. Aristotle (Rhet. 1, 2, 1355b) regards means of persuasion as (1) those contained in the subject matter itself (*ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι*), and (2) those outside it (*τὰ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων*). The latter he subdivides into (a) persuasion through the speaker's character (*ἤθη*) and (b) persuasion through the stirring of the emotions of the hearers (*πάθη*). Compare De Orat. 2, 27, 115: ita omnis ratio dicendi tribus ad persuadendum rebus est nixa: (1) ut probemus uera esse quae defendimus, (2a) ut conciliemus eos nobis qui audient, (2b) ut animos eorum ad quemquomque causa postulabit motum uocemus. The first, (1) ut probemus uera esse quae defendimus, corresponds to *πίστεις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι*; the second, (2a) ut conciliemus . . . audient, to *τὰ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων*, i. e. *ἤθη*; the third, (2b) ut animos . . . uocemus, to *τὰ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων, i. e. πάθη*. Hendrickson (2) 260 considers De Orat. 2, 27, 115 as the earliest recorded

12, 27. And so, a well-known orator has said, and has said truly that an orator ought to speak in such a way as to instruct, to please, and to persuade. Then he adds, "Instructing belongs to necessity; pleasing, to interest; persuading, to victory." Of these three, that which is given first place, the necessity of instructing, depends upon the things we say; the other two, upon our manner of saying them. Therefore, the man who speaks with the view to instructing, as long as he is not intelligible, should consider that he has not yet said what he wishes to say to the one whom he wishes to instruct. Because, though he has said what he himself understands, he should not be thought yet to have said it to him by whom

Latin formulation of the Peripatetic conception of the orator's *officia*, afterward to be followed by Quintilian and all later Roman rhetoric. For a discussion of the development of *docere, delectare, flectere* from Aristotle and his school, cf. Hendrickson (2) 249-260.

3. **horum trium . . . in modo quo dicimus:** this twofold division is that which is followed by Augustine in Contr. Cresc. 1, 13, 16: uideo te quaedam copiose ornateque explicare, hoc est eloquenter; quaedam uero subtiliter arguteque disserere, hoc est dialectice. It also follows from his conception of the nature of words as twofold, discussed in De Dial. 7: duplex hic ex consideratione sensus nascitur: partim propter explicandam ueritatem, partim propter seruandum decorem, quorum primum ad dialecticum, secundum ad oratorem maxime pertinet. Aristotle's conception, of course, of the aspects of proof admits of interpretation as being either twofold or threefold. The interpretation as threefold was shown above as developing into the *docere, delectare, flectere* of the schools, but the twofold division, *viz.* merely (1) *πίστεις ἐν τῷ πράγματι*, and (2) *τὰ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων* is the more logical one, and is of earlier date and wider diffusion. Cicero himself often conceives of the usual threefold *officia* as being, in strict analysis, only twofold: cf. De Orat. 2, 77, 310: et quoniam, quod saepe iam dixi, tribus rebus homines ad nostram sententiam perducimus, aut docendo aut conciliando aut permouendo, una ex tribus his rebus res prae nobis est ferenda, ut nihil aliud nisi docere uelle uideamur; reliquae duae, sicuti sanguis in corporibus, sic illae in perpetuis orationibus fusae esse debebunt; Brut. 23, 89: duae summae sint in oratore laudes una subtiliter disputandi ad docendum, altera grauiter agendi ad animos audientium permouendos. As was seen in the first chapter of the present treatise, the natural division of *res* and *modus quo* was accepted by Augustine in place of the traditional fivefold division of oratory; here, in speaking of the functions of the orator, he sees its bearing again, but recognizes how it easily resolves itself into the more usual threefold division, and this he follows, in view of his subsequent treatment of the three traditional styles: plain, temperate, and grand, discussed in chapter 17, and the succeeding chapters.

6. **qui ergo . . . dixerit, dixit:** here the point in question is that of *res*, the method used is the dialectic of Contr. Cresc. (cf. 1, 13, 16: dialecticus ille appellandus est, qui non solum subtiliter, sed ueraciter etiam disserit), the function is *ad docendum*, and the style, as will be explained in chapter 17, is plain.

10. **quod si etiam delectare . . . ut faciat:** here the question is that of *modus quo*, the method is the rhetoric of Contr. Cresc. (cf. 1, 13, 16:

flectere non quocumque modo dixerit, faciet; sed interest quomodo dicat, ut faciat. sicut est autem, ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus auditor, ita flectendus, ut moueatur ad agendum. et sicut delectatur, si suauiter loquaris, ita flectitur, si amet quod polliceris, timeat quod minaris, oderit quod arguis, quod commendas amplectatur, quod dolendum exaggeras doleat, cum quid laetandum praedicas gaudeat, misereatur eorum quos miserandos ante oculos dicendo constituis, fugiat eos quos cauendos terrendo proponis—et quidquid aliud grandi eloquentia fieri potest ad commouendos animos auditorum, non quid agendum sit ut sciant, sed ut agant quod agendum esse iam sciunt.

28. Si autem adhuc nesciunt, prius utique docendi sunt quam mouendi. et fortasse rebus ipsis cognitis ita mouebuntur, ut eos non opus sit maioribus eloquentiae uiribus iam moueri. quod tamen cum opus est, faciendum est; tunc autem opus est, quando cum scierint quid agendum sit, non agunt. ac per hoc docere neces-

1 faciet]facienti *A*; faciat *BF*. 2 ut]aut *BF*. est autem ut *om. E*. delectandus est *E*. 4 loqueris *ABDFI*, flectetur *C*. 5 odiat *E*. commendas] connolenda sunt *A*. 6 laetandum]dolendum *E*. 9 aliud *om. A*. eloquentiae *A*. 10 agendum sit . . . quod *om. F*. 13 et]etsi *C*. ipsis *om. E*. 14 iam *om. B*. admoueri *B*. 15 est faciendum *E*. 16 scierunt *C*; scirent *F*.

eloquens ille appellandus est, qui non solum copiose et ornate, sed etiam ueraciter dicit), the functions are *ad delectandum* and *ad flectendum*, and the styles are the moderate and grand, Augustine's language in these two sentences is meant to illustrate the subject in hand. His purpose is first of all *ad docendum*, and so he uses the plainest words only, and only those absolutely necessary; but these he repeats either outright, or by polyptoton, so that the result is a very clear explanation of the matter, but one put in such a neat, succinct way as also to please and convince (*ad delectandum* and *ad flectendum*), his further purposes.

3. **et sicut . . . sciunt:** an obvious use of the grand style, in illustration of the subject under discussion. —Note the use of the accusative with intransitive verbs, in this sentence. Though this construction is found to some extent in Cicero, and later in Silver Latin, it does not become common until Late Latin: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 275, 277.

5. **arguis** takes the accusative of the thing (object of censure) in Cic., Liv., the poets, and Silver and Late writers: cf. T. L. L. II, 553, 61—554, 17.

6. **exaggeras** is here used as a *verbum dicendi*, meaning 'emphasize'. Its usual transferred meaning is 'exaggerate': cf. Orat. 3, 55: oratione exaggerare aliquid. With the accusative and the gerundive, its use seems peculiar to Augustine in this place, and is certainly Late.

quid, indefinite, is classical: cf. Lane 435.

laetandum: cited as used transitively by Cic. (with neuter pronoun), Verg., Sall., Fronto, Aug.: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 261.

7. **misereatur . . . miserandos:** Festus thus distinguishes between *miserari* and *misereri:* ut miseretur is, qui conqueritur aliena incommode; *misereatur* is, qui miserum subleuat (Fest. apud Paul. Diac. 123). Pompeius and others, however, say that these verbs differ in syntax only, not

he has not been understood; if, however, he has been understood, whatever the manner of his having said it, he has said it. But if his aim is also to please the one to whom he speaks, or to persuade him, he will not accomplish it by any manner of speaking whatsoever, but it is of moment how he speaks, in order to accomplish it. Moreover, as a listener must be pleased if his attention is to be held, so he must be persuaded if he is to be moved to action. And as he is pleased if you speak attractively, so he is persuaded if he likes what you promise, fears what you threaten, hates what you censure, embraces what you command, grieves over what you emphasize as deserving of grief, rejoices when you say something should gladden, sympathizes with those whom you by your words set before his eyes as objects of pity, shuns those whom you with threats consider ought to be avoided—and so on in regard to whatever else in the way of moving the hearts of an audience is possible through powerful eloquence, not that they may know what they must do, but that they may do what they already know they ought to do.

28. But if they do not yet know this, instruction must, of course, precede persuasion. And perhaps, when the facts themselves have been learned, they will be so far moved, that there will be no longer need that they be moved by greater powers of eloquence. However, when there is need, this must be used; but there is then need when, although they know what they ought to do, they do not do it. And for this reason, instruction is of necessity. For men have the liberty of doing or not doing the things they know. But who would

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in sense: *miserari* takes the accusative, *misereri* takes the genitive.

quos miserandos . . . constituis: *constituo* with an accusative gerundive was admitted from the time of Vitruvius on. This construction, or *ut* and the subjunctive became then the ordinary usage with this verb to express a dependent noun clause with subject differing from *constituo:* cf. St.-Schm. 595; K.-Schm. s. v.

8. **fugiat:** transitive at times in Cicero, Caesar, Livy, and Quintilian, though the construction is largely poetical: cf. T. L. L. VI, 1485, 31 ff.; K.-Steg. II, 1, 257.

terrendo used absolutely, is found in Livy: cf. 28, 26: ut ultro territuri succlamationibus, concurrunt. Classical Latin, on the whole, restricted the absolute use of verbs. On the extension of this usage in Late Latin, cf. St.-Schm. 376-78; K.-Steg. II, 1, 95; Arts 80. Note this use below in 13, 29 (instruat); 15, 32 (praeferentem); 16, 33 (largiente); 18, 36 (indignari . . . corripere . . . exprobare . . . increpare . . . minari); 20, 42 (rimanti); 20, 39 (incidentibus).

sitatis est. possunt enim homines et agere et non agere quod sciunt. quis autem dixerit eos agere debere quod nesciunt? et ideo flectere necessitatis non est, quia non semper opus est, si tantum docenti uel etiam delectanti consentit auditor. ideo autem uictoriae est flectere, quia fieri potest ut doceatur et delectetur et non assentiatur. quid autem illa duo proderunt, si desit hoc tertium? sed neque delectare necessitatis est; quandoquidem cum dicendo uera monstrantur—quod ad officium docendi pertinet—non eloquio agitur, neque hoc attenditur, ut uel ipsa uel ipsum delectet eloquium, sed per seipsa, quoniam uera sunt, manifestata delectant. unde plerumque delectant, etiam falsa patefacta atque conuicta. neque enim delectant, quia falsa sunt, sed quia falsa esse uerum est, delectat et dictio, qua hoc uerum esse monstratum est.

13, 29. Propter eos autem quibus fastidientibus non placet ueritas, si alio quocumque modo, nisi eo modo dicatur, ut placeat et sermo dicentis, datus est in eloquentia non paruus etiam delectationi locus. quae tamen addita non sufficit duris, quos nec intellexisse,

2 dixit *DF*. 3 non necessitatis *E*. si]sed *E*. tantum]tamen *F*. 4 delectati *I*. consentiat *BDF*. 5 flectere *om*. *ABCDFG*; flectere uictoriae est *I*. ut et *ACDF*. 7 delectari *B*. necessitas *B*. 8 nec *E*. eloquium *F*. 10 quando *E*. 11 unde plerumque delectant *om*. *D*. unde plerumque etiam falsa . . . conuicta delectant *B*. 12 falsa esse] falsum esse *G*. 13 qua]quia *CF*. 14 autem]a *E*. 15 si]sed *EI*. aliquocumque *CD*; aliquid quocumque *E*; aliquo quocumque *I*. sed si eo modo *ACGI*; sed si in eo modo *BDF*. ut]et *D*. 16 dicenti *DF*. 17 quae et *BF*. duris]illis *B*. quos ut quibus *E*. non *E*.

6. **quid autem illa . . . tertium:** granting that persuasion is the end of oratory (cf. Arist. Rhet. 1, 2, 1355 b: ἔστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν), *docere* and *delectare* are merely steps in a sort of geometrical progression, as Baldwin (2, 66) puts it, leading up to *flectere;* the one, *docere*, a necessary groundwork (*necessitatis*), the second, *delectare*, of use for the purpose of interesting (*suauitatis*), the third, *flectere*, the culminating point whose function is to win (*uictoriae*). The mutual dependence, yet individuality, of these offices is brought out even more clearly in the next chapter.

10. **manifestata:** *manifestare* for *manifestum facere* or *patefacere*, appears first in Ovid, Met. 13, 106, then in Late Latin in Just., Commod., Hier., Lucif. Cal., and in the jurists: cf. K.-Schm. s. v. Note, however, the use of the classical *patefacta* below.

13. *A further explanation of the meaning and relation of the offices of the orator. Their culmination in 'flectere'.*

14. **propter eos . . . locus:** in the preceding chapter, *docere* was shown to be of necessity (*necessitatis*); *flectere*, not of necessity (*non necessitatis*), but of victory (*uictoriae*); and *delectare*, not of necessity (*non necessitatis*). Here *delectare* is shown to be for interest (*suauitatis*). For the place conceded to *delectatio* in rhetoric, cf. Arist. Rhet. 3, 1, 1404 a: δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥστε τἆλλα ἔξω τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι περίεργα ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως μέγα δύναται, καθάπερ εἴρηται, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς λέξεως ὅμως ἔχει τι μικρὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν πάσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ· διαφέρει γάρ τι πρὸς

say that they ought to do what they do not know? And so it is that persuasion is not of necessity, because there is not always need of it if only the listener is in agreement with the one who is instructing, or also pleasing. But so it is that persuasion is of victory, because there is the possibility that a person may be instructed, and pleased, and still not give his assent. But what will the two former things avail if the third be lacking. For too, pleasing is not of necessity, since, indeed, when in a speech the truth is pointed out—a thing which belongs to instruction to do—it is not done by using eloquence, nor indeed is attention given to this, to please by the matter or the style itself, but the mere exposition of the truth gives pleasure through its very nature, since it is the truth. Whence it is that many times, even falsehood, when exposed and refuted, is a source of pleasure. For it does not please because it is falsehood, but because it is true that it is falsehood, the very explanation which shows that this is true, is a matter of pleasure.

13, 29. But because of those whom by reason of their prejudice truth does not satisfy if it is put in any other way than that whereby the speaker's words also are attractive, no small place has been given in oratory even to the art of pleasing. And still, when this is added, it is not enough for hardened natures who reap no profit from having understood and having enjoyed the

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τὸ δηλῶσαι ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδὶ εἰπεῖν, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἅπαντα φαντασία ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροατήν. Hence as Cicero also admits, even in the plain style some attractiveness of manner is permitted: cf. Orat. 6, 20: alii in eadem ieiunitate concinniores, id est faceti, florentes etiam et leuiter ornati. *Ibid.* 25, 83: illam autem concinnitatem, quae uerborum conlocationem inluminat iis luminibus quae Graeci quasi aliquos gestus orationis *σχήματα* appellant, quod idem uerbum ab iis etiam in sententiarum ornamenta transfertur, adhibet quidem hic subtilis,—nam sic ut in epularum apparatu a magnificentia recedens non se parcum solum sed etiam elegantem uideri uolet, eliget quibus utatur. De Orat. 3, 25, 97: genus igitur dicendi est eligendum, quod maxime teneat eos, qui audiant, et quod non solum delectet, sed etiam sine satietate delectet.

14. **fastidientibus:** not frequent until Silver Latin: cf. T. L. L. VI, 309, 5-31.

17. **quos nec intellexisse . . . profuerit:** the accusative and the infinitive with *prosum* is not found before Cic. Verr. 1, 39, 102. It occurs thereafter in Varro, in the poets, and often in Pliny and Late writers. Goelzer cites the following striking example from Avitus: quos contemptores mundi amatoresque sapientiae, . . . quia fides defuit, non profuit operatos (esse): cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 695; Goel. (2) 252.

nec docentis elocutione delectatos esse profuerit. quid enim haec duo conferunt homini, qui et confitetur uerum, et collaudat eloquium, nec inclinat assensum, propter quem solum, cum aliquid suadetur, rebus quae dicuntur inuigilat dicentis intentio? si enim talia docentur quae credere uel nosse sufficiat, nihil est aliud eis consentire, nisi confiteri uera esse. cum uero id docetur quod agendum est, et ideo docetur ut agatur, frustra persuadetur uerum esse quod dicitur, frustra placet modus ipse quo dicitur si non ita discitur ut agatur. oportet igitur eloquentem ecclesiasticum, quando suadet aliquid quod agendum est, non solum docere ut instruat, et delectare ut teneat, uerum etiam flectere ut uincat. ille quippe iam remanet ad consensionem flectendus eloquentiae granditate, in quo id non egit usque ad eius confessionem demonstrata ueritas, adiuncta etiam suauitate dictionis.

14, 30. Cui suauitati tantum operae impensum est ab hominibus,

1 docentes *F.* delectatus *G.* profuerint *F.* haec enim *A.* haec]hoc *D.* 2 duo *om. I.* conferunt]profuerunt *G.* 5 dicentur *CFG.* uel]et *E.* sifficiant *D.* 6 consentire eis *A.* uero]ergo *H.* 8 discitur]dicitur *DEH.* 10 aliquid suadet *H.* 11 ipse *Maur.* 15 qui *E.* opere *ACDG.* impensus *D.*

1. **quid . . . intentio:** a restatement of the conclusion reached in chapter 12; but it is by such repetitions that Augustine hopes to drive home his point. *Flectere*, persuasion, is the final and most important stage in the 'rhetorical progression'; it is the end of oratory: cf. Arist. Rhet. 1, 1, 1354a: *αἱ γὰρ πίστεις ἔντεχνόν ἐστι μόνον, τὰ δ'ἄλλα προσθῆκαι.* Cic. De Inuent. 1, 5, 6: officium autem eius facultatis [oratoriae] uidetur esse dicere apposite ad persuasionem; finis persuadere dictione; De Orat. 1, 61, 260; *ibid.* 1, 31, 138: primum oratoris officium esse dicere ad persuadendum accommodate; *ibid.* 1, 49, 213: eum puto esse [oratorem], qui et uerbis ad audiendum iucundis et sententiis ad probandum accommodatis uti possit.

4. **rebus . . . inuigilat:** the dative with *inuigilo* is mostly Poetic, though it is found in Cicero.

si enim talia . . . discitur ut agatur: *docere* may at times end with itself; *i. e.* to inculcate a truth may be the end of persuasion. Generally, however, *action* is the end of persuasion, and then not only *docere* and *delectare*, but also *flectere* must be used if the speaker expects *victoria.* Augustine returns again in chapter 25 to *docere* as an end.

9. **oportet . . . ut uincat:** a 'linking summary', almost like a refrain; given in order to make sure that the 'rhetorical progression' is understood. With the doctrine of the *officia oratoris* thus inculcated, Augustine can safely pass on to a discussion of the styles, which flow from the *officia.*

quando suadet aliquid: the indefinite *quid* is generally used in Class. Latin after *si, ne, num, an, quo,* or *quando,* in preference to *aliquid,* which is employed only when a special emphatic force is desired. *Aliquid* is used with these particles in Late Latin, without this force: cf. St.-Schm. 482-83.

11. **ille . . . dictionis:** a final statement of the importance of *flectere.* A. finds the climax of his chapter in the culminating point of the *officia.*

12. **remanet . . . flectendus:** Late Latin; an extension of the use of

instructor's speech. For what do these two things avail a person who both owns the truth and praises eloquence, but who does not give his assent, although it is for this alone that the speaker in an argument gives close attention to the matter which he is treating? For if the matters taught are such that knowledge of and belief in them are sufficient, agreement with them is nothing more than confessing their truth. But when a line of action is the matter of instruction, and that this be followed is the reason for the instruction, in vain is conviction that the words are true, in vain is the style of the speech pleasing, if action does not follow upon understanding. It is necessary, therefore, that the sacred orator, when urging that something be done, should not only teach in order to instruct, and please in order to hold, but also move in order to win. For indeed, it is only by the heights of eloquence that that man is to be moved to agreement who has not been brought to it by truth, though demonstrated to his own acknowledgment, even when joined with a charming style.

14, 30. And for the sake of this charm, such an amount of trouble

classical *curo, trado, do, mitto,* etc., with the accusative of the gerundive (or nominative with passive verbs), to express purpose. Augustine makes use of *remanere* in the same construction in the Confessions (9, 2, 4): et ego premendus remanseram, nisi patientia succederet: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 731; Arts 115.

granditate = 'sublimity': as a technical term in rhetoric, very rare, but used by Cicero (Brut. 31, 121), and Pliny (Epist. 6, 21, 5): cf. Georges s. v.

14. *The Sophists' false conception and use of 'delectare'. Its legitimate place in Christian oratory is dependent on moderation in its use.*

15. cui . . . lectitentur: having explained the right order of 'rhetorical progression', Augustine, in this chapter, forces his reader to conclude for himself the false basis of sophistic teaching, even from the standpoint of art, since contrary to the theory just explained, the principal aim of the Sophists, by their own acknowledgment, is to please. *Delectare,* he insists, is only the middle stage; it cannot be made the end. This is proved here, and is concluded with finality in chapter 25. Concerning the character of Sophistic, Augustine says in Contr. Cresc. 1, 2, 3: quaedam sophistica et maligna professio, quae sibi proponit, *non ex animo, sed ex contentione uel commodo,* pro omnibus et contra omnia dicere. de hoc ait sancta scriptura: *qui sophistice loquitur odibilis est* (Ecclus. 37, 23). The Sophists' method, he describes in the same work (1, 1, 2), in explaining Prou. 10, 19: *ex mutiloquio non effugies peccatum.* He says: multiloquium autem est superflua locutio, uitium scilicet loquendi amore contractum. plerumque autem loqui amant, etiam qui nesciunt quid loquantur, uel quomodo loquantur, siue ad sanitatem sententiarum, siue ad ipsum qui arte grammatica discitur, integrum sonum ordinemque uerborum. It is of such as these that he speaks in Conf. 1, 18, 28: quid autem

ut non solum non facienda, uerum etiam fugienda ac detestanda
tot et tanta mala atque turpia, quae malis et turpibus disertissime
persuasa sunt, non ut eis consentiatur, sed sola delectationis gratia,
lectitentur, auertat autem Deus ab ecclesia sua quod de synagoga
Ier. 5, 30-31 Iudaeorum Ieremias propheta commemorat dicens: *pauor et horrenda
*facta sunt super terram; prophetae prophetabant iniqua, et
sacerdotes plausum dederunt manibus suis, et plebs mea dilexit sic.
et quid facietis in futurum?* o eloquentia tanto terribilior, quanto
Ier. 23, 29 purior; et quanto solidior, tanto uehementior! o uere securis concidens
petras! huic enim rei simile esse uerbum suum, quod per
sanctos prophetas fecit, per hunc ipsum prophetam Deus ipse dixit.
absit itaque, absit a nobis, ut sacerdotes plaudant iniqua dicentibus,
et plebs Dei diligat sic. absit a nobis, inquam, tanta dementia, nam
quid faciemus in futurum? et certe minus intellegantur, minus
placeant, minus moueant quae dicuntur; uerumtamen dicantur;
et iusta, non iniqua libenter audiantur; quod utique non fieret, nisi
suauiter dicerentur.

Psal. 34, 18 31. In populo autem graui, de quo dictum est Deo, *in populo*

7 fecerunt *H.* 9 plurior *CG* (uel purior *supra*) *H.* 10 esse]est *EH.* 11 fecit . . . prophetam *om. F.* 13 Dei plebs *E.* diligat Dei *A.* sic *om. EF.* absit inquam a nobis *E.* inquam]iniquum *D.* 14 futuro *E.* 15 uera tamen *AC*; ueram tamen *I.* 16 iusta (*sic MSS melioris notae*; uera tamen dicantur et iusta *editi* [*Maur.*]); iusta et *A.* 18 Deo *om. I*; Domino *BD*; in populo . . . est Deo *om. E.*

mirum quod in uanitates ita ferebar, et a te, Deus meus, ibam foras, quando mihi imitandi proponebantur homines, qui aliqua facta sua non mala, si cum barbarismo aut soloesismo enuntiarent, reprehensi confundebantur; *si autem libidines suas integris et rite consequentibus uerbis copiose ornateque narrarent, laudati gloriabantur.* Cicero also gives a discriminating characterization of the Sophists when he says: uerbi enim controuersia iam diu torquet Graeculos homines *contentionis cupidiores quam ueritatis* (De Orat. 1, 11, 47). For a brief account of the character of the Second Sophistic, cf. Norden 351 ff.; Meridier 11 ff.; Campbell 14-19; Lezat 11-19.

cui suauitati . . . impensum est: Cicero uses *in* (*ad*) and the accusative with *impendo.* The dative appears first in Quintilian and Tacitus, in Silver Latin.

1. non solum . . . uerum etiam: Cicero uses *uerum etiam* in his earlier, but *sed etiam* in his later works. The same preference is shown by Auct. ad Her., Caes., Varro, Sall., Nep., Liv., Curt., the two Senecas, Tac.; but Val. Max., the two Plinys, Quint., Suet., and Late writers, as Arnobius and Augustine particularly, return to *uerum etiam:* cf. St.-Schm. 684. See *uerum etiam* also in 21, 45; 26, 57; 28, 61.

2. quae persuasa sunt: *persuadere,* used transitively, is found in Seneca and in Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

4. auertat autem Deus, etc.: in itself, because it is false, and has brought rhetoric into ill-repute, Sophistic deserves to be repudiated. Still, where it alone is concerned, A.'s mode of attack is quiet, and at times even indirect. Here, however, since the danger of its influence upon the sa-

has been taken by men, that not only must we not follow, but even we must shun and detest the many abominably wicked and shameful deeds which are urged in this most elegant way by the evil and unjust, not to gain assent for them, but that they may be read eagerly for the mere sake of the pleasure in them. But may God keep from the Church what the prophet Jeremias relates of the synagogue, saying: *Fearful and dreadful things have been done in the land. The prophets prophesied falsehoods, and the priests clapped their hands; and my people loved such things: and what will you do in the future?* O eloquence, so much the more terrible as it is so unadorned; and as it is so genuine, so much the more powerful! O truly, an axe hewing the rock! For it was in this similitude that God Himself through this same prophet spoke of His own word, which He has uttered through the holy prophets. Far be it, then, far be it from us, that priests should applaud evil-speakers, and that the people of God should be pleased thereat! Far be such great madness from us, I say, for what shall we do in the future! And assuredly let what is said be less understood, less pleasing, less moving, but still let it be said; and let righteousness, not evil, gain a willing hearing! But this undoubtedly would not be possible unless it possess charm.

31. But in a strong people, such as are spoken of by God—*I will*

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cred orator is felt, the writer in his indignation falls into the grand style.

5. **pauor . . . futurum:** see Introduction, p. 17, for the difference between the Old Version and the Vulgate, in this verse. The Old Version is followed here.

9. **o uere . . . ipse dixit:** Augustine echoes the Old Version rendering of Ier. 23, 29, which varies considerably from that of the Vulgate. The Old Version reads: nonne uerba mea sicut ignis, dicit Dominus, et sicut securis concidens petram? The Vulgate is: numquid non uerba mea sunt quasi ignis, dicit Dominus, et quasi malleus conterens petram?

12. **absit . . . ut:** in Eccl. Latin *absit* is commonly used either absolutely, or with an infinitive or dependent clause: cf. T. L. L. I, 210, 65—211, 18. See Parsons (178) and Arts (82) for its frequent use in Augustine's Letters, and the Confessions. It marks passages of impassioned expression. Note its absolute use below (l. 13), and also in 18, 36.

14. **et certe . . . suauiter dicerentur:** Augustine is claiming for the sacred orator a lower place than that of the Sophist in popular favor, if that must be, but a definite place, where truth may gain a willing hearing over falsehood. He sees the necessity of the concession that to make this hearing a willing one, the eloquence of the Church must also use, to a moderate degree, the quality of *delectatio.*

18. **in populo . . . ornarentur:** a caution, in consequence of the concession just granted. Even where legitimately used, *i. e.* where charm is not employed to cloak falsehood,

gravi laudabo te, nec illa suauitas delectabilis est, qua non quidem iniqua dicuntur, sed exigua et fragilia bona spumeo uerborum ambitu ornantur, quali nec magna atque stabilia decenter et grauiter ornarentur. est tale aliquid in epistola beatissimi Cypriani, quod ideo puto uel accidisse uel consulto factum esse, ut sciretur a posteris, quam linguam doctrinae christianae sanitas ab ista redundantia reuocauerit, et ad eloquentiam grauiorem modestioremque restrinxerit, qualis in eius consequentibus litteris secure amatur, religiose appetitur, sed difficilime impletur, ait ergo quodam loco: *petamus hanc sedem: dant secessum uicina secreta, ubi dum erratici palmitum lapsus pendulis nexibus per harundines baiulas repunt, uiteam porticum frondea tecta fecerunt.* non dicuntur ista nisi mirabiliter adfluentissima fecunditate facundiae, sed profusione nimia grauitati displicent. qui uero haec amant, profecto eos qui non ita dicunt, sed castigatius eloquuntur, non posse ita eloqui existimant, non iudicio ista uitare. quapropter iste uir sanctus et posse se ostendit dicere, quia dixit alicubi, et nolle, quoniam postmodum nusquam.

1 quia *D.* 2 diliguntur *CEFGHI.* 3 quo *E.* 4 oriuntur *C*; ornentur *FH*; orientur *G.* aliquid]quid *B.* 5 puto]dico *E.* consuete *C.* 6 sanitatis *D.* redundatione *F.* 7 uocauerit *F.* 9 religioseque *B.* adimpletur *E.* 10 errati *D.* 11 pensulis *A*; nexibus pendulis *Cyp.* (*C.S.E.L.*). 12 uiteam *om. E.* 13 fecunditate *om. BDF.* facundia *BDF.* 14 grauitate *C.* displicent grauitati *A.* 15 loqui *C.* 16 deuitare *E Maur.* 17 et posse sic dicere se ostendit *E.* quoniam et *E.*

delectatio must in the speech of an ecclesiastic be used *in moderation.* The excess in St. Cyprian's Epistle, quoted below, not only proves this point, but also shows that ecclesiastics have equal ability with Sophists in the use of ornament, though because of their good taste, they generally prefer a restrained diction.

1. **delectabilis:** Silver and Late Latin for *iucundus:* cf. Gell. 1, 4, 1: doctrina . . . utiliore ac delectabili: cf. T. L. L. V, 417, 65.

2. **ambitu** = περιόδῳ: cf. 7, 11.

4. **beatissimi:** *beatus* (class. 'happy'), through its frequent application to the dead, in such contexts as Apoc. 14, 13: beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur, came in Late Latin to take on the meaning of 'blessed': cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; T. L. L. II, 1914, 9-52.

5. **sciretur . . . reuocauerit:** an indirect question sometimes appears in its original tense, present or perfect, with a main secondary tense: cf. Lane 298; K.-Steg. II, 2, 191. See below 28, 61: ostenderet qualis . . . debeat.

6. **linguam** = 'style' (as in 7, 10), is Poetic and Silver Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

9. **quodam loco:** Epist. 1 ad Donatum 1.

13. **mirabiliter adfluentissima fecunditate, etc.:** A.'s explanation itself imitates Cyprian's style. He is justified in appreciating the rhythm of this Epistle, while at the same time recognizing its profuseness. Norden (621, 944) quotes this passage as representative of Cyprian's care in the use of clausulae. Each least phrase is worked out with great pre

praise thee in a strong people—that charm of style is not pleasing in which, though indeed falsehood is not involved, still, slight and unimportant truths are adorned with a foamy redundancy of expression, such as even great and enduring matters would not fittingly and worthily be adorned with. There is such an instance in one of the letters of the blessed Cyprian, which, I think, so fell out, or was thus done on purpose, in order that succeeding ages might know from what redundancy the soundness of the Christian teaching has recalled his style, and to what more dignified and reticent eloquence it has restricted him; which is such in his succeeding letters that he is safely admired, scrupulously copied, but with difficulty imitated. So he says in a certain passage: "Let us seek for that spot; the neighboring solitudes offer a retreat, where, as the wandering tendrils of the vine-shoots with overhanging interlacings creep along the trellis supports, the covering leaves have formed an arbor of vines." This is certainly expressed with marvellously flowing exuberance of language, but because of its excessive profuseness, it is not pleasing to the serious reader. However, those who admire this style think that of a certainty those who do not express themselves after this manner, but rather keep their eloquence within bounds, cannot thus be eloquent, and not that they avoid such language by preference. For this reason, this holy man shows that he *can* thus express himself, since he has done so in this place, but that he does not *wish* to do so, for nowhere does he do so afterward.

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cision, in perfect accordance with the laws of rhythm. For an analysis of the clausulae in this Epistle, cf. Norden (Nachträge 6).

adfluentissima: *adfluens* is frequent in Cicero, though not found in Caesar. Its superlative use, however, is confined to Late Latin: cf. Hier. in Iob. 38: adfluentissimam adfluitatem largitatemque diuinae gratiae: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; T. L. L. I, 1244, 48-52.

profusione: *profusio* = 'profusion', for Class. *effusio*, is Silver and Late: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

14. **qui uero . . . uitare:** the Sophists' contempt for all that is not sophistic.

15. **castigatius:** the comparative of *castigate* is cited only for Late writers: Amm., Aug., Macr., Boeth.: cf. T. L. L. III, 537, 26-29.

16. **iudicio** is used as an ablative of manner from the time of Cicero on: cf. St.-Schm. 431.

17. **quia . . . quoniam:** A. here varies his causal particles, but on the whole in this treatise, as generally in Late Latin, *quia* is used preferably to classical *quod*, or *quoniam:* cf. St.-Schm. 725; 753. For this use in the Confessions, cf. Arts 95.

15, 32. Agit itaque noster iste eloquens, cum et iusta et sancta et bona dicit—neque enim alia debet dicere—agit ergo quantum potest cum ista dicit, ut intellegenter, ut libenter, ut obedienter audiatur; et haec se posse, si potuerit, et in quantum potuerit, pietate magis orationum, quam oratorum facultate non dubitet, ut orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator antequam dictor. ipsa hora iam ut dicat accedens, priusquam exserat proferentem linguam, ad Deum levet animam sitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, uel quod impleverit fundat. cum enim de unaquaque re, quae secundum fidem dilectionemque tractanda sunt, multa sint quae dicantur, et multi modi quibus dicantur ab eis qui haec sciunt, quis nouit quid ad praesens tempus, uel nobis dicere, uel per nos expediat audiri, nisi qui corda omnium uideat; et quis facit ut quod oportet et quemadmodum oportet, dicatur a nobis, Sap. 7, 16 nisi in cuius manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri? ac per hoc, discat quidem omnia quae docenda sunt, qui et nosse uult et docere,

1 egit itaque *ABDF*; age it itaque *G*; aget itaque *HI*. iste noster *E*; iste *om. I*. et (iusta) *om. ABCDFGHI*. 2 et bona et sancta *BEI*. debet alia *B*. aget *AGH*. 4 audiantur *F*. 7 doctor (*sic em.*) *F*. accendens (*sic. em.*) *G*. 8 ructet *ABDGH*. 10 delectationem *BCEFGHI*; delectatione *D*; (dilectationemque *editi* [*Maur.*]); -que]quae *D*. sint *B*. 11 moda *A*. 12 uel]et *F*. 13 audire *F*. omnium] hominum *E*. 14 quid *D*. 15 manus *G*.

15. *The place of prayer and of confidence in God, in Christian oratory.*

1. **agit . . . audiatur:** thus far there is perfect agreement between Christian and pagan orator.

3. **ut intellegenter . . . audiatur:** *intellegenter* is used by Cicero only in Part. Orat. 8, 28, and 29: ut amice, ut intellegenter, ut attente audiamur. *Obedienter* is a favorite word with Livy, but elsewhere is very rare. Classical Latin, in this place, would most probably have used a more concrete form of expression: a predicate adjective with *facere* or *habere:* cf. De Orat. 2, 79, 323: nam [et] attentum monent Graeci ut principio faciamus iudicem et docilem; Auct. ad Her. 1, 4, 6: ut attentos, ut dociles, ut beneuolos auditores habere possimus. This difference in expression is quite in keeping with the great fondness for adverbs found in Late writers. Adverbs in *-ter* are especially favored by Augustine. Their use is a noticeable point of style in his Letters (cf. Parsons 76-78), as also in the present treatise. The preceding group appears again and again. It pleases him because of its similarly ending syllables (homoioteleuton).

5. **pietate . . . orationum:** this is the great mark of distinction between pagan and Christian orator. As it is developed in the remainder of this chapter, it shows the Saint's intense realization of, and faith in the existence and power of the supernatural. Quite in keeping with his style, however, Augustine does not disdain a play on words even here, though his purpose in doing so—to mark more clearly his antithesis—is plainly evident. Note paragmenon coupled with chiasmus in *pietate magis orationum, quam oratorum facultate*, and paronomasia in *sit orator antequam doctor.* This lightness of treatment, because of its restraint, and because of the writer's evident sincerity and earnestness, does not detract from the authority of the explanation.

15, 32. And so, that orator of ours, in speaking of justice, holiness, and a good life, the subjects on which alone he should speak, strives, in as far as possible, when speaking on such subjects, to make his words understood, enjoyed, and persuasive; and this he should not doubt but that he can do if it is possible, and in so far as it is possible, more through the piety of his prayers than through his orator's skill, so that by praying for himself and for those whom he is going to address, he is a petitioner before a speaker. At the very time, then, when he is going to preach, before he loosens his tongue to speak, he should lift up his thirsting soul to God, in order to give forth what he will drink in, and to pour out what he will be filled with. For although on every topic which can be treated according to faith and love, there is much that may be said, and many ways in which it may be said by those versed therein, who knows either what is best for us on a special occasion to say, or what is best that others should hear from us, if it be not He who sees the hearts of all? And who can make us say what we ought, and in the manner we ought to say it, if not He in whose

se posse . . . non dubitet: *non dubitare* with the accusative and infinitive is rare in Classical Latin (except in Nepos), but becomes general in Silver and Late Latin. It is frequently used in De Ciu. Dei: cf. St.-Schm. 586; K.-Schm. s.v.; Colbert 59.

non for **ne** in prohibitions is found once in Cicero (Att. 11, 9, 3), but becomes more common in the poets and in Silver Latin. It belongs properly to colloquial speech and grows frequent only in Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 573-74.

7. **exserat** = 'puts out', is mostly Poetic and Silver. Livy (7, 10) writes: Gallus linguam ab irrisu exserens.

8. **proferentem:** though redundant, this participle emphasizes the idea of 'speaking', and serves also to balance *sitientem* in the following clause. Its absolute use is unusual, not being cited in the Lexica.

eructet: rare but classical.

9. **de unaquaque re:** cf. Cic. Font. 10, 21: unaquaque de re.

10. **dilectionem:** an Eccl. word, found first in Tertullian: cf. T. L. L. V, 1166, 69—1167, 34.

12. **ad praesens tempus:** *in praesens*, 'for the present', occurs often in Livy, Silver, and Late writers; *ad praesens* is found in Tacitus, Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, and Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

16. **discat quidem . . . in uobis:** the ecclesiastical orator must prepare himself with as great thoroughness as the pagan orator, but he must pass beyond the pagan in his belief that in reality all his power comes from God. Cicero himself, however, also advocates self-diffidence, as an essential to success in speaking. His lines are interesting as proving that humility is a natural, as well as a supernatural virtue. Cicero realizes that man cannot rely upon himself; Augustine knows that man not only cannot rely upon himself, but must rely wholly upon God. Cf. De Orat. 1, 26, 119: ac, si quaeritis, plane quid sentiam enuntiabo apud homines familiarissumos, quod adhuc semper tacui et tacendum putaui,

facultatemque dicendi, ut decet uirum ecclesiasticum, comparet;
ad horam uero ipsius dictionis, illud potius bonae menti cogitet
Matt. 10, 19-20 conuenire quod Dominus ait, *nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini,*
dabitur enim uobis in illa hora quid loquamini; non enim
uos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in
uobis. si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus sanctus, qui persequentibus
traduntur pro Christo, cur non et in eis qui tradunt discentibus
Christum?

16, 33. Quisquis autem dicit non esse hominibus praecipiendum
quid uel quemamodum doceant, si doctores sanctus efficit Spiritus,
Matt. 6, 8 potest dicere nec orandum nobis esse, quia Dominus ait, *scit pater*
uester quid uobis necessarium sit, prius quam petatis ab eo, aut
apostolum Paulum Timotheo et Tito non debuisse praecipere quid
uel quemadmodum praeciperent aliis. quas tres epistolas ante
oculos habere debet, cui est in ecclesia persona doctoris imposita.
1 Tim. 4, 11 nonne in prima ad Timotheum legitur: *annuntia haec et doce?* quae
1 Tim. 5, 1 autem sint, supra dictum est. nonne ibi est: *seniorem ne increpaueris*
2 Tim. 1, 13 *sed obsecra ut patrem?* nonne in secunda ei dicitur: *formam*
habe uerborum sanorum, quae a me audisti? nonne ibi ei dicitur:
2 Tim. 2, 15 *satis age, teipsum probabilem operarium exhibens Deo, non erubescentem,*
uerbum ueritatis recte tractantem? ibi est et illud:
2 Tim. 4, 2 *praedica uerbum, insta opportune, importune, argue, obsecra, increpa*
in omni longanimitate et doctrina. itemque at Titum, nonne

2 cogitat *B.* 4 in illa hora *om. I.* 6 sanctus Spiritus *C.* 7 et]est *E.* 9 quisquis]qui *C.* non esse *om. E.* 10 docent *A.* 11 non *E.* Dominus nobis *E.* pater]dominus *E.* 14 uel *om. B*; quid uel *om. D.* 15 habere debet *om. D.* doctoris persona *Maur.* 16 legitur ad Timotheum *CGH.* 17 sunt *BD.* dictum est *supra E.* ne]non *E.* 19 habe formam *E.* sanorum uerborum *C Ver. An. Vulg.* audisti a me *A.* nonne et *F.* dicit *H.* 20 agens *F.* 22 importune *om. E.* obsecra]hortare *ABCDFGH*; exhortare *Ver. An.*

mihi, etiam qui optime dicunt quique id facillime atque ornatissime facere possunt, tamen, nisi timido ad dicendum accidunt et in ordienda oratione perturbantur, paene impudentes uidentur. *Ibid.* 1, 26, 121: quidem et in uobis animum aduertere soleo et in me ipso saepissime experior, ut et exalbescam in principiis dicendi et tota mente atque artubus omnibus contremescam. adulescentulus uero sic initio accusationis exanimatus sum, ut hoc summum beneficium Q. Maximo debuerim, quod continuo consilium dimiserit simul ac me fractum ac debilitatum metu uiderit.

2. **ad horam . . . dictionis:** *ad* with the accusative in place of the ablative of time was used by Pac., Cato, Caes., Cic., Varro, and Silver and Late writers: cf. T. L. L. I, 556, 48 ff. The formula *ad horam* is cited for Sen., Quint., and Late Latin: cf. T. L. L. I, 557, 1-5.

6. **persequentibus:** *persequor* = 'persecute', is Eccl. Latin.

16. *The compatibility of ardent preparation and total reliance on God. Proofs from Scripture of the divine economy, i.e. the seeming interdependence of the natural and the*

hands are both ourselves and our words? And for this reason the one who would both know and teach should learn, of course, all that he has to teach, and should acquire such skill in speaking as becomes an ecclesiastic; but indeed at the time of the sermon itself he should consider that admonition rather as befitting a good disposition, which the Lord utters: *Take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you.* And so, if the Holy Spirit speaks in those who are given over to persecution for the sake of Christ, why will He not do so also in those who give Christ to their disciples?

16, 33. But if any one says there is no need to lay down rules as to what and how men should teach, since it is the Holy Spirit who forms the teacher, he can say likewise that we do not need to pray, since the Lord says: *Your Father knoweth what is needful for you, before you ask Him,* or that the Apostle Paul ought not to have given instructions to Timothy and to Titus as to what or how to instruct others. Nay, he who has been given the role of teacher in the Church ought to have before his eyes three of the Apostle's Epistles. In the first Epistle to Timothy, do we not read: *These things announce, and teach,* that is the things which he explained above? Do we not read there too: *An ancient man rebuke not, but entreat him as a father?* In the Second Epistle does he not say: *Hold the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me?* And does he not say to him in the same place: *Carefully labor to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightfully handling the word of truth?* There too is this: *Preach the word: be instant in season, out of season: reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine.* And so too

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supernatural, though in reality on God depends all.

For comparison of the Old Version and Vulgate readings of the verses in this chapter, and of the longer Scriptural quotations in the succeeding chapters, cf. Introduction, Biblical Quotations.

23. **itemque** = *item:* in Late Latin *-que,* attached to introductory words, loses its own force, e. g. *utinamque* = *utinam; ideoque* = *ideo:* cf. St.-Schm. 657. See this usage also in 16, 33; 20, 39; 20, 43.

ad Titum . . . dicit: the use of *dico, aio,* etc., with *ad* and the acc. of a person is cited first for Apul. Met. 2, 15. Due to its common use in the *Versio Antiqua* and in the Vulgate, it became widespread in Eccl. writers: cf. T. L. L. I, 1459, 67-72; K.-Schm. s. v.; Goel. (1) 329. Note this use below, again in this chapter, and in 18, 37; 19, 38; 28, 61; 7, 19.

dicit episcopum iuxta doctrinam fidelis uerbi perseuerantem esse
Tit. 1, 9 debere, *ut potens sit in doctrina sana et contradicentes redarguere?*
Tit. 2, 1-2 ibi etiam dicit: *tu uero loquere quae decent sanam doctrinam, senes*
Tit. 2, 15 *sobrios esse,* et quae sequuntur, ibi et illud: *haec loquere, et exhor-*
Tit. 3, 1 *tare, et increpa cum omni imperio. nemo te contemnat. admone*
illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, etc. quid ergo putamus? numquid contra seipsum sentit apostolus, qui cum dicat doctores operatione fieri Spiritus sancti, ipse illis praecipit quid et quemadmodum doceant? an intellegendum est, et hominum officia ipso sancto Spiritu largiente, in docendis etiam ipsis doc-
1 Cor. 3, 7 toribus non debere cessare; et tamen *neque qui plantat est aliquid,*
neque qui rigat, sed Deus qui incrementum dat? unde ipsis quoque ministris sanctis hominibus, uel etiam sanctis angelis operantibus, nemo recte discit quae pertinet ad uiuendum cum Deo, nisi fiat a
Psal. 142, 10 Deo docilis Deo, cui dicitur in psalmo: *doce me facere uoluntatem*
tuam, quoniam tu es Deus meus. unde et ipsi Timotheo idem dicit
2 Tim. 3, 14 apostolus loquens utique ad discipulum doctor: *tu autem perseuera*
in iis quae didicisti, et credita sunt tibi, sciens a quo didiceris. sicut enim corporis medicamenta, quae hominibus ab hominibus adhibentur, nonnisi eis prosunt quibus Deus operatur salutem, qui et sine illis mederi potest, cum sine ipso illa non prosint, et tamen adhibentur—et si hoc officiose fiat, inter opera misericordiae uel

3 decet *BFGHI Ver. An.* 5 condempnat *E.* 8 doctores *om. D.* fieri *om. C.* aliquid *E.* 10 docentis *F.* 11 est esse *EI Maur.* 12 neque qui plantat neque qui rigat esse aliquid *E.* Deum *EI Maur.* sed qui . . . dat Deus *DGH Ver.An. Vulg.* 14 nemo]ne *E.* dicit *E.* pertineant *A.* Domino *B.* 15 Deo (cui) *om. EH, del. B.* facere]ut faciam *A.* 16 quia *CEF* et *om. F.* 18 his *ABCDFGHI Ver. An.*; hiis *E.* tradita *BDEF.* 19 hominibus (ab) *om. AF.* 21 prosint]possunt *AE*; possint *CFI.* 22 fiant *E.*

1. **episcopum . . . debere esse:** cf. Vulg. Tit. 1, 7-9: oportet enim episcopum sine crimine esse . . . amplectentem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est, fidelem sermonem ut potens sit, etc. The Old Version, differing in the ninth verse reads: adplectentem id, quod secundum doctrinam est fidelis uerbi, ut potens sit, etc. The replacement of *secundum* by *iuxta* is Late: cf. St.-Schm. 503. While *perseuerantem esse* in place of *perseuerare* is obviously an echo of the Scriptural language above, it should be noted that such an analytical form of expression is a characteristic of the later Latinity in general: cf. St.-Schm. 606.

6. **quid . . . putamus:** the indicative in deliberative questions occurs in Early Latin, in the poets, in Cicero's early works and letters, and in Late Latin: cf. Lane 257.

7. **numquid** =*num:* the negative force is not lost here, as often in Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 649.

8. **operatione:** not in Cic. or Caes.; used by Vitr., Plin., Late writers; frequently found in Vulg.: cf. Benoist-Goelz.

9. **an intellegendum est:** sometimes the thought in the first part of

to Titus, does he not say that a bishop ought to be persevering *in that faithful word which is according to doctrine, that he may be able in sound doctrine to convince the gainsayers?* There again he says: *But speak thou the things that become sound doctrine, that the aged men are sober,* and so on. There, too, we read: *These things speak, and exhort, and rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee. Admonish them to be subject to princes and powers.* What then should we think? Can it be that the Apostle holds contrary opinions to himself, since though he says that teachers are formed by the action of the Holy Spirit, he himself gives others instructions as to what and how they should teach? Or are we to understand that even with the outpourings of the Holy Spirit, man's help too is not to be dispensed with in the instructing of even the instructors themselves, and still, *neither he that planteth is anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase?* And so it is that though, too, holy men themselves should help, or even the holy Angels should lend their aid, no one learns aright the things which pertain to life with God, if he becomes not through God, docile to God, to whom it is said in the Psalms: *Teach me to do thy will, for Thou art my God.* And therefore the Apostle says the like also to the same Timothy, speaking certainly as the master to his disciple: *But continue thou in those things which thou hast learned, and which have been committed to thee: knowing of whom thou hast learned them.* For as the medicine of the body, which is administered to men by men is of no avail except to those to whom God restores health, since He can cure even without it, though without Him, it cannot, and

a disjunctive question is involved. The second part, introduced by *an*, serves to force the acceptance of the positive or negative proposition, urged in the first question. Here *numquid* suggests our refusal of the first statement. This is enforced by the alternative *an* question, which as is evident to the reader, possesses the truth of the matter: cf. Gildersleeve 292.

10. **largiente** is used absolutely also by Plaut., Just., and later writers. For this usage in Ambrose, for instance, cf. McGuire 24-25.

13. **operantibus** = 'administer' is Eccl. Latin.

14. **nemo . . . docilis Deo:** St. Augustine has the power of expressing truths of the deepest faith and spiritual penetration with such simplicity that the average reader is liable to see only the surface, and to miss the depth of meaning hidden within. This short sentence possesses the very key to all asceticism.

20. **operatur salutem:** *operari,* used transitively, is Eccl. Latin, being common to Vulg., Lact., Hier., Ambr., Aug., etc. Note the use of *operari* below, with a clause as object: cf. Benoist-Goelz. and Georges s. v.

beneficentiae deputatur—ita et adiumenta doctrinae tunc prosunt animae adhibita per hominem, cum Deus operatur ut prosint, qui potuit euangelium dare homini, etiam non ab hominibus, neque per hominem.

17, 34. Qui ergo dicendo nititur persuadere quod bonum est, nihil horum trium spernens, ut scilicet doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat, oret atque agat, ut quemadmodum supra diximus, intellegenter, libenter, obedienterque audiatur. quod cum apte et conuenienter facit, non immerito eloquens dici potest, etsi non eum sequatur auditoris assensus. ad haec enim tria, id est ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat, etiam illa tria uidetur pertinere uoluisse idem ipse Romani auctor eloquii, cum itidem dixit: *is erit igitur eloquens, qui poterit parua*

3 etiam]et *E*. 5 qui ergo persuadere nititur dicendo *A*; qui ergo nititur dicendo persuadere *Maur*. 6 illorum *ABEFGH*. oret *om.F*. 8 -que *om.* *DGH*. 9 loquens *I*. eum]enim *E*. assequatur *E*; sequitur *I*. 11 tria illa *Maur*. 12 idem *E*. is]iste *C*. igitur erit *E. Maur*; erit *om.C*. potuerit *F*.

1. **deputatur** = 'numbered among,' is Late Latin: cf. Aug. Epist. 13, 16: deputare inter poenas: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; T. L. L. V, 622, 77-623, 14.

17. *The development of the three styles from the three functions of the orator.*

5. **qui ergo . . . audiatur:** cf. Arist. Rhet. 1, 2, 1355 b; 1356 a: *ἔστω δὴ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν. . . . τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου ποριζομένων πίστεων τρία εἴδη ἐστίν· ἁι μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ ἤθει τοῦ λέγοντος* (= *ut delectet*), *αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναί πως* (= *ut flectat*), *αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι* (= *ut doceat*). *διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἤθους, ὅταν οὕτω λεχθῇ ὁ λόγος ὥστε ἀξιόπιστον ποιῆσαι τὸν λέγοντα* (= *libenter*). . . . *διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀκροατῶν, ὅταν εἰς πάθος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου προαχθῶσιν* (= *obedienter*). . . . *διὰ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πιστεύουσιν, ὅταν ἀληθὲς ἢ φαινόμενον δείξωμεν ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστα πιθανῶν* (= *intelligenter*).

nititur . . . persuadere: *nitor* with the infinitive is cited for Caes. (B. G. 6, 37, 10), Sisenn., Sall., Nep., Ov., Liv., before Silver and Late Latin: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 667.

7. **quemadmodum,** 'as', particularly in answer to *sic*, *ita*, *eodem modo*, etc., was used in colloquial speech from Cicero's time on, and is often found in Cicero's Letters. Quintilian advances the usage a step farther, and employs it to mean 'as for instance', to introduce examples: cf. St.-Schm. 765.

8. **quod apte . . . facit . . . potest:** a formulation of the Peripatetic *mean* of style. To Aristotle, and to all who with him are governed by taste and reason, rhetorical excellence depends on adherence to the 'appropriate': cf. Arist. Rhet. 3, 2, 1404 b: *ὡρίσθω λέξεως ἀρετὴ σαφῆ εἶναι· σημεῖον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἐὰν μὴ δηλοῖ, οὐ ποιήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον· καὶ μήτε ταπεινὴν μήτε ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ πρέπουσαν*. Cicero sums up the doctrine of 'fittingness', among other places, in Orat. 35, 123: is erit ergo eloquens, *qui ad id quodcumque decebit poterit accommodare orationem*. quod cum statuerit, tum ut quidque erit dicendum ita dicet, nec satura ieiune nec grandia minute nec item contra, et erit rebus ipsis par et aequalis oratio. In De Orat. 1, 61, 260, he speaks as concisely as Augustine: sit orator nobis is qui . . . accommodate ad persuadendum possit dicere. In De Orat. 1, 32, 144, the conventional

yet it is administered—and if this be done in kindliness, it is counted among the works of mercy or charity—so, also, aids to learning, when given by men, are of help to the soul when God makes them of help, who could have given his Gospel to man even without man's agency or help.

17, 34. He, therefore, who strives in speaking, to convince of what is good, since he is concerned with the threefold aim, viz., instructing, pleasing, and persuading, should pray and labor, as we have said above, to make himself understood, enjoyed, and persuasive. And when he accomplishes this rightly and fitly, he is not unworthily called eloquent, even though the agreement of his hearer does not follow him. For it is to these three points, viz., instructing, pleasing, and persuading, that the great authority on Roman eloquence himself seems to wish to apply those other three points in

adverbs appear, echoed here and elsewhere by Augustine: audieram etiam quae de orationis ornamentis traderentur: in quo praecipitur primum, ut pure et Latine loquamur, deinde ut plane et dilucide, tum ut ornate, post *ad rerum dignitatem apte et quasi decore.* It should be observed that Augustine has followed much the same order in discussing these *praecepta* as Cicero, in enumerating them: *pure et Latine, plane et dilucide* were treated in chapter 10, *ornate* was touched on in chapters 11 and 14; *apte et decore*, the cardinal virtue of the orator, is here given its rightful place as essential to the offices and styles, and will receive due treatment as the styles are developed.

12. is igitur, etc.: Orat. 29, 101.

is erit igitur, etc.: Augustine's ingenious linking of Cicero's separate explanations of the styles and the offices makes a statement even more telling than Cicero's own expression of the relation between the two: cf. Orat. 21, 69: erit igitur eloquens . . . is qui in foro causisque ciuilibus ita dicet, ut probet, ut delectet, ut flectat. . . . sed quot officia oratoris, tot sunt genera dicendi: subtile in probando, modicum in delectando, uehemens in flectendo. Thus we have developed the three traditional styles: the plain (*genus submissum*), the middle (*genus temperatum*, or *moderatum*), the grand (*genus grande*, or *sublime*). As the *officia oratoris* were found traceable to the Peripatetic School, so the styles grow out of Aristotle's conception of the twofold aspect of persuasion, since as Cicero and Augustine show, the styles are merely an outflowing from the offices. Their history can quickly be summarized. Following the distinction of his master, Theophrastus took a step nearer to the definition of styles by applying Aristotle's division of *πίστεις* to language, speaking of *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* and *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους* (cf. fragment cited by Ammonius in Aristotelis De Interpretatione Comm. 65, 31). Of these parts the Stoics in the succeeding centuries, when they gained widespread influence, developed only the dialectical, and formulated a stylistic doctrine corresponding to pragmatic argument. Meanwhile, the Peripatetic School held to Aristotle's division of *πίστεις*, and in consequence must also early have developed a doctrine of style in accordance with it, though the actual record of this is not preserved. In *De Inuentione*, we find the first record of a tacit or implied recognition of two styles corresponding to Aristotle's two aspects of argument. It must be recognized,

submisse, modica temperate, magna granditer dicere, tamquam si adderet illa etiam tria, et sic explicaret unam eandemque sententiam dicens: "is erit igitur eloquens, qui ut doceat, poterit parua submisse; ut delectet, modica temperate; ut flectat, magna granditer dicere."

18, 35. Haec autem tria ille, sicut ab eo dicta sunt, in causis forensibus posset ostendere, non autem hic, hoc est in ecclesiasticis quaestionibus, in quibus huius, quem uolumus informare, sermo uersatur. in illis enim ea parua dicuntur, ubi de rebus pecuniariis iudicandum est; ea magna, ubi de salute et de capite hominum; ea uero ubi nihil horum iudicandum est, nihilque agitur ut agat siue decernat, sed tantummodo ut delectetur auditor, inter utrumque quasi media, et ob hoc modica, hoc est moderata dixerunt. modicis enim modus nomen imposuit; nam modica pro paruis abusiue, non proprie dicimus, in istis autem nostris, quandoquidem omnia, maxime quae de loco superiore populis dicimus, ad homi-

1 temperata *E.* granditer magna *A.* 2 illa tria etiam *E.* -que *om. E.* 3 igitur *om. E.* 4 flectet *E.* 6 sicut]sic *D*; sic ab eo ut (*supra*) *B.* 7 possit *A.* hic *om. ABDF.* hoc est]etiam *E.* 8 in quibus *om. E.* huius modi *H Maur.* 9 enim *om. E.* 11 uero modica *G.* nihil]in *D.* 12 decernat]discet *E.* 13 hoc est]id est *E.* 16 ab *D*; ob *E.*

however, that there is a long break in the tradition. Cicero merely echoes what was the traditional stylistic theory of his day. The same is, of course, true of the definition of the styles found in Ad Her. 4, 8, 11 (sunt igitur tria genera, quae genera nos figuras appellamus, in quibus omnis oratio non uitiosa consumitur: unam grauem, alteram modiocrem, tertiam extenuatam uocamus). This latter, however, is the earliest extant occurrence of the *three*fold division of style. Our next mention of the three styles is found in De Orat. 3, 45, 177; 3, 52, 199; 3, 55, 212. These references are mere allusions. Cicero gives his first clear explanation of the *three* styles and their development in Orat. 21, 69, quoted above. For a brief history of the origin and meaning of the characters of style, cf. Hendrickson (2) 249 ff.

18. *The subject matter of the Christian orator is always great.*

6. haec tria . . . forensibus posset ostendere: Augustine uses *forensis* in its broadest sense, not to mean that kind of oratory (primarily forensic) called *genus iudicale* (δικανικόν) as distinct from *genus deliberatiuum* (συμβουλευτικόν) and *genus demonstratiuum* (ἐπιδεικτικόν), but to express 'legal' in the sense of that which is opposite to 'ecclesiastical'.—As a matter of fact, Cicero *does* exemplify the styles by reference to three of his own speeches wherein they are respectively outstanding. The plain style, he says, is used in *Pro Caecina* (an example of *genus iudicale*), the middle style in *Pro Manilia Lege* (*genus deliberatiuum*), and the grand style in *Pro Rabirio* (*genus demonstratiuum*): cf. Orat. 29, 102: tota mihi causa pro Caecina de uerbis interdicti: res inuolutas definiendo explicauimus, ius ciuile laudauimus, uerba ambigua distinximus. fuit ornandus in Manilia lege Pompeius: temperata oratione ornandi copiam persecuti sumus. ius

that place where he has said, "He therefore will be eloquent, who can speak in a subdued manner on unimportant matters, in a moderate style on things of greater importance, and in a grand style on great matters," as if he would add also those other three points given above, and would express one and the same idea, thus: "He, therefore, will be eloquent who, in order to instruct, can speak in a subdued manner on unimportant matters; in order to please, in a moderate style on things of greater importance; and in order to persuade, in a grand style on great subjects."

18, 35. Now our authority could have illustrated these three points, as explained by him, in legal cases; but he could not have done so here, *i. e.* in the instance of ecclesiastical questions, the type with which that form of discourse is concerned which we wish to describe. For in the former, those matters can be called unimportant where money questions are concerned; those are great where it is a question of the welfare and life of man; but where neither of these is concerned, and it is not a matter of pleading or judging, but merely of pleasing the listener, such questions are midway between the two, and for that reason are called 'middling', that is 'moderate'. For 'moderate' gets its name from *modus,* 'measure', so we do not apply the term properly, but misuse it, when we say

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omne retinendae maiestatis Rabiri causa continebatur: ergo in ea omni genere amplificationis exarsimus.

8. **huius** = *eius: hic qui* for *is qui* appears first in the Silver period. For the encroachment of *hic* on *is*, cf. Meader 35; St.-Schm. 475; K.-Steg. II, 1, 621.

11. **ea uero . . . dixerunt:** Augustine, with Auct. ad Her., Cicero, and Quintilian, accepts as the origin of the middle style its rise as a *tertium quid* between the plain and the grand styles. See Ad Her. 4, 8, 11: grauis est, quae constat ex uerborum grauium et leui et ornata constructione. *mediocris est, quae constat ex humiliore neque tamen ex infima et peruulgatissima uerborum dignitate.* attenuata est, quae demissa est usque ad usitatissimam puri consuetudinem sermonis. De Orat. 3, 52, 199: est et plena quaedam, sed tamen teres; et tenuis, non sine neruis ac uiribus; *et ea, quae particeps utriusque generis quadam mediocritate laudatur. Ibid.* 3, 55, 212: figuram orationis plenioris et tenuioris *et item illius mediocris.* See also Orat. 26, 91; Quint. 12, 10, 58: *tertium . . . medium ex duobus.*

ut agat siue decernat: the employment of *siue* = *aut* is Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 676; Goel. (2) 319-20; Bonnet 315. See this usage in 26, 57.

15. **abusiue:** used by Quintilian, and Late writers: cf. T. L. L. I, 239, 17-30.

in istis . . . pecunia: one of the telling differences between the ecclesiastical and the legal orator: the ecclesiastic's theme is always 'great'.

16. **populis:** *populus* in the plural, meaning 'people', is Poetic, Silver, and Late.

num salutem, nec temporariam, sed aeternam referre debemus, ubi
etiam cauendus est aeternus interitus, omnia magna sunt quae
dicimus, usque adeo ut nec de ipsis pecuniariis rebus uel acquirendis
uel amittendis, parua uideri debeant, quae doctor ecclesiasticus
dicit, siue sit illa magna, siue parua pecunia. neque enim
parua est iustitia, quam profecto et in parua pecunia custodire
Luc. 16, 10 debemus, dicente Domino, *qui in minimo fidelis est, et in magno*
fidelis est. quod ergo minimum est, minimum est, sed in minimo
fidelem esse, magnum est. nam sicut ratio rotunditatis, id est ut a
puncto medio omnes lineae pares in extrema ducantur, eadem est
in magno disco, quae in nummulo exiguo, ita ubi parua iuste geruntur,
non minuitur iustitiae magnitudo.

36. De iudiciis denique saecularibus (quibus utique nisi pecu-
1 Cor. 6, 1-9 niariis?) cum loqueretur apostolus, *audet quisquam uestrum* inquit
aduersus alterum negotium habens, iudicare ab iniquis, et non
apud sanctos? an nescitis quia sancti mundum iudicabunt? et si
in uobis iudicabitur mundus, indigni estis qui de minimis iudicetis?
nescitis quoniam angelos iudicabimus, nedum saecularia? saecularia
igitur iudicia si habueritis, eos qui contemptibiles sunt in
ecclesia, hos collocate ad iudicandum. ad reuerentiam uobis dico.
sic non est inter uos, quisquam sapiens, qui possit inter fratrem
suum iudicare? sed frater cum fratre iudicatur, et hoc apud infideles.
iam quidem omnino delictum est, quia iudicia habetis uobiscum.
quare non magis iniquitatem patimini? quare non potius
fraudamini? sed uos iniquitatem facitis, et fraudatis, et hoc fratres.
an nescitis quia iniusti regnum Dei non haereditabunt? quid est
quod sic indignatur apostolus, sic corripit, sic exprobrat, sic incre-

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1 salute *D.* 2 cauendum *G.* omnia sunt magna *ABGH.* 3 acquirendis rebus *E.* 4 admitendis *B.* 8 minimum est (sed) *om. F*; est *om. A.* minimo]minimis *B.* 9 id *om. C.* ut *om. I.* a puncto[ab cuncto *D*; a pucto *A.* 10 partes *A.* est et *H.* 11 mago in disco *B.* ubi]ut *D*; ut (ibi *supra alia m.*) *B.* 13 quibus *om. D.* 14 dum *A.* 15 habens negotium *Maur. Vulg.* iudicati *E.* apud iniquos *A Vulg.*; apud iniustos *Ver.An* 17 iudicatur *ADEFGHI.* iudicatis *E.* 18 quia *EFI.* necdum *BDFGI.* 20 collocate]constituite *E. Maur. Ver.An. Vulg.*; conlaudate *A.* iudicandum et *E*; ad iudicandum *om. ACG Ver.An.* (*prope omnes MSS*; *quod etiam abest a graeco textu Apostoli* [*Maur.*]). 21 sapiens quisquam *ACGH Vulg.* 24 patimini iniquitatem *E.* 25 sed *om. E.* fratribus *BFH Ver.An. Vulg.*; (et hoc apud fratres *MSS quinque*; et hoc fratribus *alii tres* [*Maur.*]). 26 iniqui *A Ver.An. Vulg.* haereditabunt]possidebunt *H. Ver.An. Vulg.* 27 sic improbat increpat *E.*

9. **rotunditatis:** Silver and Late Latin. Frequent in Plin. Mai.: cf. 37, 73, 3: gemma rotunditatis absolutae.

26. **quid est quod . . . indignatur:** *quid est quod*, 'why is it that', is found largely in Early Latin, but occurs also in Cicero, generally however with the hypothetical subjunctive, *e. g.* Clu. 22, 59: quid est quod plura dicamus? The indicative as expressive of a fact—as here in Augustine—occurs in Verr. 4, 20, 43: cf. Lebreton 318; Lane 312; Gildersleeve 328.

27. **indignatur:** this absolute use of the verb begins in Silver Latin.

corripit = 'upraids', though it

'moderate' for 'small'. However, in these discourses of ours, since indeed everything, especially all which we address to the people from our high position, we must direct to man's welfare—and that not his temporal but his eternal welfare—where, besides, we must warn against eternal destruction, all that we say is of great importance, even to the extent that even money matters themselves, whether in regard to gain or loss, when put forth by the ecclesiastical teacher ought not seem of small importance, let the amount be great or little. For the matter of justice is not of small importance, and this surely we must safeguard even as regards a small amount of money, since the Lord says: *He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in that which is greater.* And so a little thing is a little thing, but to be faithful in a little thing is a great thing. For as it is the nature of a circle that all the lines drawn from a point in the middle to the circumference are equal, and this principle is the same in a large disk and in a small coin, so when justice is administered even in a small matter, the greatness of justice is not diminished.

36. Therefore, when the Apostle spoke of worldly trials (and with what, truly, were these concerned unless with money matters?), he said: *Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to be judged before the unjust. and not before the saints? Know you not that the saints shall judge this world? And if the world shall be judged by you, are you unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know you not that we shall judge angels, not to speak of things of this world? If therefore you have judgments of things pertaining to this world, set them to judge, who are the most despised in the Church. I speak to your shame. Is it so that there is not among you one wise man, that is able to judge between his brethren? But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before unbelievers. Already indeed there is plainly a fault among you, that you have lawsuits one with another. Why do you not rather suffer wrong? Why do you not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded? But you do wrong and defraud, and that to your brethren. Know you not that the unjust shall not possess the kingdom of God?* Why is it that the Apostle is so indignant, that he so upbraids, so reproaches, so rebukes, so threatens? Why is it that he calls the

pat, sic minatur? quid est quod sui animi affectum tam crebra et tam aspera mutatione testatur? quid est postremo quod de rebus minimis tam granditer dicit? tantumne de illo negotia saecularia meruerunt? absit. sed hoc facit propter iustitiam, charitatem, pietatem, quae, nulla sobria mente dubitante, etiam in rebus quamlibet paruulis magna sunt.

37. Sane si moneremus homines quemadmodum ipsa negotia saecularia uel pro se uel pro suis apud ecclesiasticos iudices agere deberent, recte admoneremus ut agerent tamquam parua submisse; cum uero de illius uiri disseramus eloquio, quem uolumus earum rerum esse doctorem, quibus liberamur ab aeternis malis, atque ad aeterna peruenimus bona, ubicumque agantur haec, siue ad populum siue priuatim, siue ad unum siue ad plures, siue ad amicos siue ad inimicos, siue in perpetua dictione siue in collocutione, siue in tractatibus siue in libris, siue in epistolis uel longissimos uel breuissimis, magna sunt, nisi forte quoniam calix aquae frigidae res minima atque uilissima est, ideo minimum aliquid atque uilissi-
Matt. 10, 42 mum Dominus ait quod eum qui dederit discipulo eius, non perdet mercedem suam, aut uero quando iste doctor in ecclesia facit inde sermonem, paruum aliquid debet existimare se dicere, et ideo non temperate, non granditer, sed submisse sibi esse dicendum. nonne quando accidit ut de hac re loqueremur ad populum, et Deus adfuit
2 Mach. 1, 32 ut non incongrue diceremus, tamquam de illa aqua frigida quaedam

1 anima *D*. tam *om. MSS*. 3 illo]bello *E*. 4 pietatem quae]pietatemque *D*. 5 mente sobria *G*. dubitant *D*. quamlibet *om. A*. 7 homines]omnes *D*. 8 uel (pro se) *om. C*. ecclesiastico *D*. 9 paruula *E*. 11 rerum *om. B*; uolumus *add. B*. 12 agatur *A*; aguntur *H*. ad]apud *ADI*. 13 siue ad (amicos) *om. D*. 14 siue ad inimicos *om. D*. siue ad imperpetua et continua dictione *E*. 18 discipulis *I*. 19 aut]at *BD*. 20 paruum aliquid existimare debere se dicere *E*. et]ut *I*. 21 esse *om. E*. 22 accidit . . . ad populum *om. E*. affuit *BCDE*. 23 non incongrue]congrue *MSS*.

occurs in Caes. B. G. 1, 2; Cael. ap. Cic. 8, 21; Ov. Met. 5, 565; and Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 257, is not frequent until Silver and Late Latin. Its absolute use belongs to Silver writers: cf. Mart. 11, 39, 9: corripis, obseruas, quereris, suspiria ducis. Cf. T. L. L. IV, 1045, 9—1046, 43; K.-Schm. s. v.

exprobrat is used as an absolute verb in Early, Silver, and Late Latin.

increpat and **minatur** are first used absolutely by Vergil.

12. **ubicumque agantur:** *ubicumque* is used from the time of Horace, Propertius, and Ovid: cf. St.-Schm. 487-88. The subjunctive in iterative sentences becomes increasingly common in Silver and Late Latin. *Ubi* as an iterative with the subj. is used by Liv., then by Vell., Tac., Justin.: cf. St.-Schm. 767; Gildersleeve 364.

agantur . . . ad populum . . . inimicos: *agere ad populum* means 'to bring a proposition before the people'. A technical expression is here extended to admit of general application.

emotion of his soul to witness, with such numerous and harsh expressions? Why is it, finally, that he speaks in such a lofty strain on trivial matters? Is it that mere worldly questions deserved so much from him? Far from it! But he does so because of justice, charity, and righteousness, which no one in a sane mind can doubt but are great, even in things however insignificant.

37. Certainly, if we were to advise men how they ought to plead such worldly cases before ecclesiastical judges either for themselves or for their friends, we should be right in advising them to plead in a subdued manner, as of matters of small importance. But since it is a question of the eloquence of one whom we wish to be a teacher of those matters through which we are freed from eternal pains and brought to eternal happiness, it makes no difference where such things are treated, whether before the people or privately, whether with one person or with more, whether with friends or with enemies, whether in an unbroken speech or in a conversation, whether in tracts or in books, whether in letters, long or short, they are great; except perhaps that because a cup of cold water is a very little and unimportant thing, so what the Lord says is very little and unimportant, viz., that whosoever shall give one to his disciple shall not lose his reward; or, indeed, that when a preacher in the Church develops a sermon from this text, he ought to consider that he is talking on something of little weight, and so should express himself not in the moderate or in the grand style, but in the subdued style. Is it not true that when we chance to speak to the people on this text, and God's Presence is with us so that we speak not unfittingly, that a kind of a flame darts forth, as it were, from that cold water, which inflames men's cold hearts to the

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15. **tractatibus** = 'tracts' is Late Latin: cf. Hier. Epist. 54, 11: post scripturas sanctas doctorum hominum tractatus lege: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

16. **calix . . . mercedem suam:** cf. Vulg. Matt. 10, 42: et quicumque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem aquae frigidae tantum in nomine discipuli: amen, dico uobis: non perdet mercedem suam.

20. **et ideo**, as a conclusive particle connecting coördinate sentences, is rare in Classical writers, but is found more frequently in Late Latin: cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 146. McGuire (43) notes its common occurrence in Ambrose. See this usage again in 22, 51.

23. **incongrue:** Late Latin: cf. Macr. S. 513; Aug. Epist. 17: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

de illa . . . surrexit: cf. Vulg. 2 Mach. 1, 31-32: cum autem consumptum esset sacrificium, ex residua aqua Nehemias iussit lapides maiores perfundi. quod ut factum est, ex eis flamma accensa est.

flamma surrexit, quae etiam frigida hominum pectora, ad misericordiae opera facienda, spe coelestis mercedis accenderet?

19, 38. Et tamen cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictor esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere, sed submisse cum aliquid docetur; temperate cum aliquid uituperatur siue laudatur; cum uero aliquid agendum est, et ad eos loquimur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen uolunt, tunc ea quae magna sunt, dicenda sunt granditer, et ad flectendos animos congruenter. et aliquando de una eademque re magna, et submisse dicitur, si docetur; et temperate, si praedicatur; et granditer, si auersus inde animus ut conuertatur impellitur. quid enim Deo ipso maius est? numquid ideo non discitur? aut qui docet unitatem Trinitatis, debet nisi submissa disputatione agere, ut res ad dignoscendum difficilis, quantum datur, possit intellegi? numquid hic ornamenta, et non documenta quaeruntur? numquid ut aliquid agat est flectendus audi-

1 hominum corda uel *E*. 2 spe *om. F*. faciendas . . . coelestis mercedes *F*. 3 dictor]doctor *H*; doctor rerum *E*. 4 debet eas *E*. 10 aduersus *BDFH* ut *om. I*. 12 non]cum *H*. dicitur *EH* (*editi*; discitur *concinnius MSS* [*Maur.*]). aut]at (*sic em.*) *B*. 15 numquid hic ornamenta . . . quaeruntur *om. H*.

19. *The purpose of the discourse must be the ecclesiastic's guide to the use of the styles.*

3. **et tamen . . . congruenter:** though the ecclesiastical orator cannot be guided, as the legal orator can, by difference in matter (*parua*, *modica*, or *magna*), he can, with the legal orator, take as norm for the use of the styles the *officia oratoris:* cf. Orat. 21, 70: magni igitur iudicii, summae etiam facultatis esse debebit moderator ille et quasi temperator huius tripertitae uarietatis; nam et iudicabit quid cuique et poterit quocumque modo postulabit causa dicere. It is again the case of *apte et decore* (τὸ πρέπον): is erit ergo eloquens, qui ad id quodcumque decebit, poterit accommodare orationem (Orat. 35, 123).

4. **submisse cum aliquid docetur:** as an example of the plain style, Auct. ad Her. gives a *narratio*, marked by a free, unconstrained, conversational tone; Cicero gives *Pro Caecina*, a piece of close reasoning; Augustine (Contr. Cresc. 1, 16, 20) cites St. Paul on circumcision, or the distinction between the law and grace, and (De Doctr. 4, 20, 39) the 3rd and 4th chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians, all strictly dialectical. These models represent the two aspects of *docere* and the plain style: (1) its familiar, conversational side, and (2) its argumentative side: both, originally connoted in the Greek term διαλέγεσθαι.

5. **temperate . . . laudatur:** Auct. ad Her. gives as example of the middle style, what seems to correspond to a *rationis confirmatio*, i. e., the elaboration of a proof; Cicero, the ornamental *De Manilia Lege*, with its praise of Pompey; Augustine, Cyprian's praise of virginity. This style is that most fitting for the panegyric. It depends on sound and rhythm for much of its pleasing effect.

6. **cum uero . . . congruenter:** to exemplify the grand style a peroration, highly figurative and elaborate, is given by Auct. ad Her.; the impassioned *Pro Rabirio* by Cicero; and 2 Cor. 6, 2-11 (ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, etc.) by Augustine. As the examples of the plain style represent the Peripatetic conception of λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, so this with the

accomplishment of works of mercy, through the hope of heavenly reward?

19, 38. And still, although our teacher is necessarily the spokesman of great subjects, he need not necessarily always speak in the grand style, but in a subdued manner when something is being explained, moderately when a thing is being criticised or commended; but when something ought to be done, and we are speaking to those who ought to do it, although they do not wish to, then the matter which is an important one, should be stated in the grand style, and in a manner adapted to move their hearts. But sometimes one and the same great matter is treated in a subdued way, if information is given; moderately, if commendation is made; and in the grand style, if adverse opinion is forced to change. For what is greater than God Himself? But is that a reason why He should not be studied? Or should one who teaches about the unity of the Trinity use other than subdued language if he wishes to make a matter difficult of distinction understood, in as far as it is possible? In such a case, are embellishments demanded rather than proofs? Is the listener to be persuaded to do something, and not rather to be instructed so as to learn something? But when God is being

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middle style represents *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους* (*ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων*).

8. **congruenter:** found twice in Cic.: De Fin. 3, 7, 26, and De Orat. 3, 10, 37: apte congruenterque dicamus; very rare in Class. Latin, but more frequent in Late writers: cf. T. L. L. III, 303, 1-33.

et aliquando . . . impellitur: the Auct. ad Her. (4, 8, 11 ff.) exemplifies this by choosing a *narratio*, a *rationis confirmatio* and a *peroratio* to illustrate the different styles. All might belong to a single speech. Augustine proves the same possibility by showing, below, that the mysteries of God must be treated in the plain style, the praise of God in the middle style, the overthrowing of idols for the true worship of God, in the grand style.

11. **numquid ideo . . . instruendus:** the *officium* here is *docere*, hence the style should be *submissum*.

ideo, used absolutely, occurs in Early, Silver, and Late writers: cf. St.-Schm. 684; K.-Steg. II, 2, 146.

12. **unitatem:** Silver and Late: cf. Gell. 19, 8: singularis numeri unitas.

13. **disputatione:** the frequent use, throughout this chapter, of *disputatio*, *disputare*, *disserere*, to describe the plain style, shows the importance, in Augustine's eyes, of its dialectical aspect. In Contr. Cresc. 1, 13, 16, also, he says: quaedam uero subtiliter arguteque disserere, hoc est, dialectice, and in *ibid.* 1, 16, 20: si autem presse atque constricte, magis eum disputatorem quam dictorem appellare consueuerunt. The examples of this style which he cites below (20, 39) show even more clearly that he regards it not as something essentially simple and plain, but rather as the instrument of intricate argument.

14. **documenta:** the argumentative quality further emphasized.

tor, et non potius ut discat instruendus? porro cum laudatur Deus siue de seipso, siue de operibus suis, quanta facies pulchrae ac splendidae dictionis oboritur ei qui potest quantum potest laudare, quem nemo conuenienter laudat, nemo quomodocumque non laudat! at si non colatur, aut cum illo uel etiam prae illo colantur idola, siue daemonia, siue quaecumque creatura, quantum hoc malum sit, atque ut ab hoc malo auertantur homines, debet utique granditur dici.

20, 39. Submissae dictionis exemplum est apud apostolum Paulum, Gal. 4, 21-26 ut planius aliquid commemorem, ubi ait: *dicite mihi, sub lege uolentes esse, legem non audistis? scriptum est enim, quod Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla, et unum de libera, sed ille quidem qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est; qui autem de libera, per repromissionem; quae sunt in allegoria. haec enim sunt duo testamenta: unum quidem in monte Sina in seruitutem generans, quae est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, qui coniunctus est huic quae nunc est Ierusalem, et seruit cum filiis suis. quae autem sursum est Ierusalem, libera est, quae est mater nostra, etc.*

1 et non ut discat potius *CGH*. instruendus est *E*. 2 ipso *H*. 3 qui potest laudare *E*. 4 conuenienter non *E*. quocumque *E*. non *om. G*. 5 at si] at siue (*sic em.*) *B*; ac si *I*. 7 ut *om. C*. 9 apud *om. D*. 11 audistis] legistis *CGHI Ver.An. Vulg.*; egistis *E*. enim *om. D*. quoniam *E*. 12 et unum] unumque *E*. 13 quidem *om. EI Maur. Vulg.* 14 in allegoriam *AF*; per allegoriam *Vulg.*; dicta *add. F. Vulg.* 15 quidem *om. E*. a monte *ABC Ver.An.* 16 quae] quod *BCDGH*. enim *om. E*. quae coniuncta *ACDFG* (*MSS fere omnes* [*Maur.*]); quae consonat *Ver.An.* 17 huic] ei *E*. quae nunc est *om. CF*.

1. **cum laudatur . . . laudat:** the *officium* here is *praedicare* (*delectare*); hence the style must be *temperatum.*

2. **pulchrae . . . dictionis:** the middle style is distinguished by its beauty, effected through figures, particularly those of words and of rhythm (σχήματα τῆς λέξεως): cf. Orat. 27, 96: est enim quoddam etiam insigne et florens orationis pictum et expolitum genus, in quo omnes uerborum, omnes sententiarum illigantur lepores.

5. **at si . . . dici:** the *officium* here is *flectere*; the style, *grande.*

6. **daemonia** = 'demons' is Eccl.: cf. T. L. L. s. v.

creatura: Late: cf. T. L. L. IV, 1116, 44–1117, 50.

20. *Examples of the three styles, taken from St. Paul.*

9. **submissae . . . exemplum:** see Introduction, page 28, for a comparison of this and the following selections with the Old Version and the Vulgate. See Eskridge 37-49, for a graphic rhetorical analysis of these, as well as the quotations from the Fathers, given in chapter 21. St. Augustine chooses as examples of the plain style, first, a passage which, while being didactic, shows a certain amount of attractiveness through its incorporation of a narrative element —an allegory; next, a selection purely dialectical in its use of argument and refutation. This choice is in strict accordance with the conventional rhetorical theory, as explained above. The best classical authorities bear witness to the plain style as being the instrument of both the ordinary conversational narrative, and

praised either for Himself or for His works, what a glory of beautiful and splendid language wells forth for one who can go to the very lengths of praise of Him whom no one fittingly praises, but whom no one fails to praise in one way or another. But if He be not worshipped, or if with Him or even before Him idols be worshipped, either demons or some other creature, the grievousness of this offense, and the exhortation to men to be converted from it, ought certainly be expressed in the grand style.

20, 39. To speak more explicitly, we have an example of the subdued style in the Apostle Paul, where he says: *Tell me, you that desire to be under the law, have you not heard the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons: the one by a bondwoman, and the other by a freewoman. But he indeed who was of the bondwoman, was born according to the flesh: but he of the free woman, was by promise. Which things are said by an allegory. For these are the two testaments. The one from Mount Sinai, engendering to bondage; which is Agar. For Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, which hath affinity to that Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But that Jerusalem, which is*

of strict logical demonstration: cf. Quint. 12, 10, 59: itaque illo subtili praecipue *ratio narrandi probandique* consistet, sed quod etiam detractis ceteris uirtutibus suo genere plenum; Auct. ad Her. 4, 10, 14 (considering especially the colloquial quality): id quod ad infimum et cotidianum demissum est; Orat. 23, 76; 24, 79; 28, 99 (recognizing both, but emphasizing the dialectical): summissus est et humilis, consuetudinem imitans . . . ; acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito erutae; . . . ille enim summissus quod *acute* et *ueratorie* dicit, sapiens iam . . . qui potest tranquille . . . partite definite distincte . . . dicere. Cicero's choice, however, of *Pro Caecina* as his own example of this style is an even stronger proof of the importance he attaches to the dialectical element in the plain style.

10. **dicite . . . nostra**: Auct. ad Her. (4, 11, 16) warns against this style becoming, in the extreme, dry and lifeless: qui non possunt in illa facetissima uerborum attenuatione commode uersari, ueniunt ad aridum et exsangue genus orationis quod non alienum est exile nominari. This distinction, Augustine recognizes for he takes care to choose as his first example of the plain style this passage of real literary merit. Cicero himself admits the legitimate use of restrained figures in this style (as the allegory, used in this instance): cf. Orat. 25, 85: utatur uerbis quam usitatissimis, *tralationibus quam molissimis;* etiam illa sententiarum lumina adsumat, quae non erunt uehementer inlustria. In Orat. 33, 117, he explains the difference between the plain style in the hands of the orator, and in the hands of the dialectician proper: erit igitur haec facultas in eo quem uolumus esse eloquentem ut definire rem possit nec id faciat *tam* presse et anguste, quam in illis eruditissimis *disputationibus* fieri solet, sed cum explanatius tum etiam uberius et ad commune iudicium popularemque intellegentiam accommodatius. From his practice, it is clear that St. Paul also recognized this difference.

Gal. 3, 15-22 itemque ubi ratiocinatur, et dicit: *fratres, secundum hominem dico, tamen hominis confirmatum testamentum nemo irritum facit, aut superordinat. Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini eius. non dicit, 'et seminibus', tamquam in multis, sed tamquam in uno, 'et semini tuo', quod est Christus. hoc autem dico, testamentum confirmatum a Deo, quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est lex, non infirmat ad euacuandas promissiones. si enim ex lege haereditas, iam non ex promissione. Abrahae autem per repromissionem donauit Deus.* et quia occurrere poterat audientis cogitationi, "utquid ergo lex data est, si ex illa non est haereditas?" ipse sibi hoc obiecit atque ait uelut interrogans, *quid ergo lex?* deinde respondit, *transgressionis gratia posita est, donec ueniret semen cui promissum est, disposita per angelos in manu mediatoris. mediator autem unius non est, Deus uero unus est.* et hic occurrebat, quod sibi ipse proposuit, *lex ergo aduersus promissa Dei?* et respondit, *absit,* redditque rationem dicens: *si enim data est lex quae posset uiuificare, omnino ex lege esset iustitia. sed conclusit scriptura omnia sub peccato, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi daretur credentibus,* etc.; uel si quid eius modi est. pertinet ergo ad docendi curam non solum aperire clausa, et nodos soluere quaestionum, sed etiam dum hoc agitur aliis quaestionibus, quae fortassis inciderint, ne id quod dicimus improbetur per illas aut refellatur, occurrere, si tamen et ipsa earum solutio pariter occurrerit, ne moueamus quod auferre non possumus. fit autem ut cum inci-

1 itaque *E.* ibi *CEFGHI.* dicit enim *E.* 3 eius quod est Christus *I.* 6 quae *om. ABCG*; quod *D.* et *om. ABD.* annos quae *C,* (*alia m.*) *G* 7 est *om. F.* infirmat]infirma *A*; inritum facit *F*; irritum facit *Vulg.*; irritam facit *Ver.An.* euacuandas]infirmandas *C.* promissiones patrum *F.* 8 repromissionem]promissionem *ABCDFG.* 9 cogitatione *A.* 10 lex *om. F.* illa data *E.* 11 hoc *om. D.* 12 proposita *CFGH Maur.* 13 dispositum *BDF Ver. An.* (*MSS plerique* [*Maur.*]). 14 unius]unus *BE.* uero]autem *E Ver.An. Vulg.* 15 ergo] autem *E.* Dei est *F.* 16 et *om. E.* respondet *D.* redditque rationem]respondet rationemque *E.* 17 omnino]uere *I Vulg.* 18 omnia esse *E.* 19 eius modi]ex huius *E.* 20 nodosa *BDF.* quaestiones *H.* 21 haec *E.* agitur *om. E.* 22 incederint *D*; inciderunt *H.* refellantur (*sic em.*) *B.* 23 et *om. EHI.*

1. **ratiocinatur:** Augustine thus advises us as to the quality of his second example. It is, in fact, a piece, plain and unadorned, thoroughly in keeping with its argumentative nature. One is reminded by it of Cicero's characterization of the plain style: et contra tenues acuti, omnia docentes et dilucidiora non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam et pressa oratione limati (Orat. 5, 20). Cf. also Quint. 12, 10, 59: in docendo autem acumen. In Contr. Cresc. 1, 16, 20, Augustine again points out this passage of St. Paul as an example of dialectic, which he there, and in chapter 13 of the same treatise, characterizes by the adverbs *presse, constricte, subtiliter argute.*

10. **utquid** = *cur*, was probably used in the colloquial speech even of Cicero's time, but did not become common in the literary language until its free use by Eccl. writers, who were influenced by its frequent usage in the Latin versions of the Scripture,

above, is free: which is our mother. So too, where he reasons, saying: *Brethren (I speak after the manner of a man) yet a man's testament, if it be confirmed, no one rendereth void, nor addeth to it. To Abraham were the promises made, and to his seed. He saith not, 'And to his seeds', as to many, but as to one, 'And to thy seed', which is Christ. Now this I say, that the testament which was confirmed by God, the law which was made after four hundred and thirty years, doth not weaken, to make the promises of no effect. For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise. But God gave it to Abraham by promise.* And because it might occur to the mind of the listener, "But why, therefore, was the law given if there is no inheritance of the law?" he put this objection to himself, as if raising a question: *What then was the law?* Then he answered: *It was set for the sake of transgression, until the seed should come, to whom he made the promise, being ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not of one: but God is one.* And here arose an objection, which he put to himself: *Was the law then against the promises of God?* And he answered, *God forbid,* and gave his reason, saying: *For if there had been a law given which could give life, verily justice should have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe*—or something to that effect. It belongs, therefore, to the duty of the teacher not only to make clear obscure matters, and to solve the difficulties in questions, but also while this is being done, to anticipate other questions, which perchance may come up, so that our words may not be disproved or refuted by them, provided of course that the solution itself, also, of these occur along with them, lest we bring up what we cannot

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where it renders *ἵνα τί*: cf. Rönsch 253-54; Goel. (1) 431; (2) 687; St.-Schm. 647; McGuire 148.

19. pertinet, etc.: A.'s conclusion as to the most important function of the plain style. He concerns himself here only with its argumentative side: exposition, proof, refutation. See Cicero's characterization of *Pro Caecina* (Orat. 29, 102): res inuolutas definiendo explicauimus, . . . uerba ambigua distinximus; also 33, 116: explicanda est saepe uerbis mens nostra de quaque re atque inuoluta rei notitia definiendo aperienda est; and his description of the *narratio* and *confirmatio* in Orat. 35, 122: rem breuiter exponere et probaliter et aperte, ut quid agatur intellegi possit; sua confirmare, aduersaria euertere, eaque efficere non perturbate, sed singulis argumentationibus ita concludendis, ut efficiatur quod sit consequens iis quae sumentur ad quamque rem confirmandam.

dentes quaestioni aliae quaestiones, et aliae rursus incidentibus incidentes pertractantur atque soluuntur, in eam longitudinem ratiocinationis extendatur intentio, ut nisi memoria plurimum ualeat atque uigeat, ad caput unde agebatur disputator redire non possit. ualde autem bonum est, ut quidquid contradici potest, si occurrerit, refutetur, ne ibi occurrat, ubi non erit qui respondeat, aut praesenti quidem, sed tacenti occurrat, et minus sanatus abscedat.

1 Tim. 5, 1-2 40. In illis autem apostolicis uerbis dictio temperata est: *seniorem ne increpaueris, sed obsecra ut patrem, iuniores, ut fratres,*
Rom. 12, 1 *anus ut matres, adolescentulas ut sorores.* et in illis: *obsecro autem uos, fratres, per miserationem Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora uestra, hostiam uiuam, sanctam, Deo placentem.* et totus fere ipsius exhortationis locus temperatum habet elocutionis genus, ubi illa pul-

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1 rursus] quidem *E*. 2 incidentes principes *A*. soluantur *F*; ut *add. EI*. 12 misericordiam *CFGH Ver.An. Vulg.* uos per miserationem fratres Dei *I*. 13 uiuentem *A Ver.An. Vulg.* ipsius *om. E*. 14 locutionis *H*.

3. **memoria:** A. refers not to verbal memory such as he discusses in chapter 29, but to that which, as Cicero says, is proper to orators: memory of things: cf. De Orat. 2, 88, 359: sed uerborum memoria, quae minus est nobis necessaria, maiore imaginum uarietate distinguitur. . . . *rerum memoria propria est oratoris;* eam singulis personis bene positis notare possimus, ut sententias imaginibus ordinem locis comprehendamus.

5. **ualde . . . bonum:** *ualde* with a positive adjective to express a superlative, belongs to the *sermo plebeius*. It was introduced into the written language by Cicero, being frequently used in his Letters. Found occasionally in Silver Latin, this usage becomes common in Late, especially in Eccl. writers, due to its frequent occurrence in the Scriptures: cf. K.-Schm. s.v.; Bonnet 308. Augustine makes use of this idiom rather frequently in the Confessions: cf. Arts 43.

contradici, as one word, occurs first in Silver Latin, beginning with Sen. Rhet., in whose writings, moreover, first appears *contradictio:* cf. T. L. L. IV, 753, 71-81.

9. **dictio temperata**, viewed negatively, is that style which is neither plain nor grand, but something between: cf. Auct. ad Her. 4, 9, 13: in mediocri figura uersabitur oratio, si haec, ut ante dixi, aliquantulum demiserimus neque tamen ad infimum descenderimus. Orat. 6, 21: est autem quidam interiectus inter hos medius et quasi temperatus nec acumine posteriorum nec fulmine utens superiorum, uicinus amborum, in neutro excellens, utriusque particeps uel utriusque, si uerum quaerimus, potius expers. *Ibid.* 26, 91: uberius est aliud aliquantoque robustius quam hoc humile, de quo dictum est, summissius autem quam illud, de quo iam dicetur, amplissimum. . . . est enim plenius quam hoc enucleatum, quam autem illud ornatum copiosumque summissius. But the middle style has also a positive side, an individuality all its own, viewed as a γένος ἀνθηρόν: cf. Quint. 12, 10, 58: tertium alii medium ex duobus alii floridum (namque id ἀνθηρόν appellant)

remove. On the other hand, it happens sometimes in the handling and solving of certain questions coming out of a first question, and of others coming out of these, that the strain of reasoning is drawn out to such an extent, that unless the disputant's memory be very strong and vigorous, he is not able to go back to the original question. But it is a very good thing to answer whatever objection can be raised, as it occurs, for fear lest it occur at a time when there will be no one to answer it, or lest it occur to someone present indeed, but silent, and he go away unhelped.

40. But in the following words from the Apostle we have an example of the moderate style: *An ancient man rebuke not, but entreat him as a father: young men, as brethren: old women, as mothers: young women, as sisters.* And in these words: *I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God.* And almost the whole passage containing this exhortation is in the moderate style, but it is particularly fine in those places where, as with debts

addiderunt. This quality he explains in 12, 10, 60: medius hic modus et translationibus crebrior et figuris erit iucundior, egressionibus amoenus, compositione aptus, sententiis dulcis, lenior tamen ut amnis lucidus quidem sed uirentibus utrinque sepibus inumbratus. Cicero describes the positive side of the middle style by the term *suauitas:* cf. Orat. 26, 91 ff.: hoc in genere neruorum uel minimum, suauitatis autem est uel plurimum. . . . huic omnia dicendi ornamenta conueniunt plurimumque est in hac orationis forma suauitatis; *ibid.* 27, 96: est enim quoddam etiam insigne et florens orationis pictum et expolitum genus in quo omnes uerborum, omnes sententiarum illigantur lepores. The identification, however, of *γένος ἀνθηρόν* and *genus medium* was recognized, even in antiquity, as a distortion. The florid style is not in reality a stage intermediate between the plain and the grand style. It is in essence merely one *aspect* of that division of language called by Theophrastus *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους*, of which the grand style is another; and *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκρομωένους* is set over against *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* (the plain style). The distinction between the grand and the middle style was apparently brought about at a time subsequent to Theophrastus, when the fame of Demosthenes was beginning to encroach upon that of Isocrates. It is certain that at a later period the doctrine of figures helped toward distinguishing between the two types, the *figurae uerborum* (*σχήματα λέξεως*) characterizing the florid style, the *figurae sententiarum* (*σχήματα διανοίας*), the grand style. The reason for calling the florid style middle is still a matter of discussion with scholars: cf. Hendrickson (2) 286-88.

13. **exhortationis:** not in Cicero; often in Silver and Late Latin, especially in Eccl. writers: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

chriora sunt, in quibus propria propriis tamquam debita reddita
Rom. 12, 6-16 decenter excurrunt, sicuti est: *habentes dona diuersa secundum*
gratiam quae data est nobis; siue prophetiam, secundum regulam
fidei; siue ministerium, in ministrando; siue qui docet, in doctrina;
siue qui exhortatur, in exhortatione; qui tribuit, in simplicitate;
qui praeest, in sollicitudine; qui miseretur, in hilaritate. dilectio
sine simulatione; odio habentes malum, adhaerentes bono; chari-
tate fraternitatis inuicem diligentes, honore mutuo praeuenientes,
studio non pigri, spiritu feruentes, Domino seruientes, spe gau-
dentes, in tribulatione patientes, orationi instantes, necessariis sanc-
torum communicantes, hospitalitatem sectantes. benedicite perse-
quentes uos; benedicite, et nolite maledicere. gaudere cum gauden-
tibus, flere cum flentibus; idipsum inuicem scientes. et quam pul-
chre ista omnia sic effusa, bimembri circuitu terminantur, *non alta*
Rom. 13, 6-8 *sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes!* et aliquanto post: *in hoc*
ipso inquit *perseverantes, reddite omnibus debita; cui tributum,*
tributum; cui uectigal, uectigal; cui timorem, timorem; cui hono-
rem, honorem. quae membratim fusa clauduntur etiam ipsa cir-

1 in quibus]ubi *CG*. reddidit *DF*; reddita debita *E*. 5 siue *om. EI Ver.An. Vulg.* 7 simulatio *D*. odio habentes malum]odientes malum *D Ver.An. Vulg.* bonum *D*. charitatem *F*. 8 mutuo]inuicem *I Ver.An. Vulg.* 10 necessitatibus *EHI Ver.An. Vulg. Maur.* 11 persequentibus *FGHI Maur. Vulg. Ver.An.* 12 benedicite *om. E Ver.An.* gaudentibus et *I*. 16 ipsum *CFGH Ver.An. Vulg.* 18 ipso *ACDE*, (*supra*) *G, H*.

1. **propria . . . excurrunt:** parallelism, particularly antithetical, and often emphasized by similar endings in clauses, amounting at times to rhymes (homoioteleuton), is a most important feature in the middle style, which differs from the grand style in its use of *figurae uerborum* (σχήματα λέξεως) rather than of *figurae sententiarum* (σχήματα διανοίας), and in the importance which it attaches to sound and rhythm rather than to vehemence of feeling and emotion. It traces its source to Gorgias and the first Sophists; it reached perfection in Isocrates: cf. Orat. 12, 38: datur etiam uenia concinnitati sententiarum et arguti certique et circumscripti uerborum ambitus conceduntur, de industriaque non insidiis sed aperte ac palam elaboratur, *ut uerba uerbis quasi demensa et paria respondeant, ut crebro conferantur pugnantia comparenturque contraria et ut pariter extrema terminentur eundemque referant in cadendo sonum;* quae in ueritate causarum et rarius multo facimus et certe occultius. in Panathenaico autem Isocrates ea studiose consectatum fatetur; non enim ad iudiciorum certamen, *sed ad uoluptatem aurium* scripserat, haec tractasse Thrasymachum Calchedonium primum et Leontinum ferunt Gorgiam, Theodorum inde Byzantinum multosque alios, quos λογοδαιδάλους appellat in Phaedro Socrates. Cicero later (Orat. 49, 163) distinguishes between the two elements here involved, sound and rhythm, and gives them more detailed treatment. He says: duae sunt igitur res, quae permulceant aures, sonus et numerus. de numero mox, nunc de sono quaerimus, . . . finiuntur [uerba] aut ipsa compositione aut quasi sua sponte, ut quaedam genera uerborum, in quibus ipsis concinnitas inest; *quae siue ca-*

and payments, like things stand out with like, thus: *And having different gifts, according to the grace that is given us, either prophecy, to be used according to the rules of faith, or ministry in ministering; or he that teacheth, in doctrine; he that exhorteth, in exhorting; he that giveth, with simplicity; he that ruleth, with carefulness; he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness. Let love be without dissimulation, hating that which is evil, cleaving to that which is good. Loving one another with the charity of brotherhood, with honor preventing one another. In carefulness, not slothful. In spirit fervent. Serving the Lord. Rejoicing in hope. Patient in tribulation. Instant in prayer. Communicating to the necessities of the saints. Pursuing hospitality. Bless them that persecute you: bless, and curse not. Rejoice with them that rejoice: weep with them that weep. Being of one mind one toward another.* And how beautifully is all this, flowing forth as it does, brought to a conclusion in a period of two *membra: Not minding high things, but consenting to the humble.* And a little below: *Persevering in this, render to all men their dues. Tribute, to whom tribute is due: custom, to whom custom: fear, to whom fear: honor to whom honor.* And this, flowing forth in *membra*, like-

sus habent in exitu similes siue paribus paria redduntur siue opponuntur contraria, suapte natura numerosa sunt, etiam si nihil est factum de industria. in huius concinnitatis consectatione Gorgiam fuisse principem accepimus. — For the importance of this parallelism of structure in the style of Christian Latin literature, cf. Norden 616 ff.

2. **decenter:** Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. T. L. L. V, 136, 53—137, 33.

habentes dona, etc.: cf. Eskridge (47): "It would be difficult to find in Sacred literature a specimen of oratory illustrating more perfectly the temperate style than the above extract from the Epistle of the Romans. A very high degree of art is employed in a very delicate and inconspicuous fashion. The passage is worthy of a great religious teacher, and unquestionably has the right to stand as a model of sacred eloquence." Analysis of its sentence structure, or *compositio* shows the reason for this. It is most carefully constructed both in matter of sound and of rhythm, parallelism and homoioteleuton being most meticulously, but at the same time most artistically worked out. Its *compositio* is as follows: three introductory *caesa,* seven pairs of balanced *caesa,* a period of six *caesa* and seven *membra* interlocked, a period of two pairs of balanced *membra* closed by a single *membrum,* a closing period of two balanced *membra* (cf. Eskridge 46-47).

14. **sic effusa:** rhythm: the middle style is commonly likened to a gently flowing river: cf. Quint. 12, 10, 60: lenior tamen ut amnis lucidus quidem sed uirentibus utrinque sepibus inumbratus. Orat. 6, 21: isque uno tenore, ut aiunt, in dicendo *fluit* nihil afferens praeter facilitatem et aequabilitatem. *Ibid.* 27, 96: hoc totum e sophistarum fontibus defluxit in forum.

cuitu, quem duo membra contexunt, *nemini quidquam debeatis,*
Rom. 13, 12-14 *nisi ut inuicem diligatis.* et post paululum, *nox praecessit* inquit *dies autem appropinquauit. abiciamus itaque opera tenebrarum, et induamus nos arma lucis; sicut in die honeste ambulemus; non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et aemulatione; sed induite Dominum Iesum Christum, et carnis prouidentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.* quod si quisquam ita diceret: "et carnis prouidentiam ne in concupiscentiis feceritis," sine dubio aures clausula numerosiore mulceret; sed grauior interpres etiam ordinem maluit tenere uerborum. quomodo autem hoc in graeco eloquio sonet, quo est locutus apos-

2 inquit *om. EI.* 3 appropinquabit *DI.* itaque]ergo *EFI Ver.An. Vulg.* 4 induamur *EI Ver.An. Vulg.* 6 induimini *AEI Vulg.* 7 prouidentiam]curam *F Ver.An. Vulg.* concupiscentias *A*; desideriis *F.* 8 concupiscentias *ACDFH*; concupiscentiam *G*; concupiscentia (*sic em.*) *B.* 9 quod si quis . . . feceritis *om. I.* 11 quo]quod *ADEFHI.*

1. **contexunt:** Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. Quint. 9, 4, 19: oratio alia uincta atque contexta, soluta alia: cf. T. L. L. IV, 692, 38-85. *Contexo,* meaning in its literal sense 'interweave', is well chosen, expressive of the care as to sound and rhythm, of rhetorical sentence structure, where *caesa* and *membra* form the material, as it were, for an elaborate oratorical tapestry.

8. **quod si . . . currere numerose:** having treated, at least suggestively, St. Paul's handling of sound (*i. e.* his use of parallelism), Augustine turns to the question of rhythm (cf. Orat. 49, 163: duae sunt . . . res quae permulceant aures, sonus et numerus), and though his treatment here is a summary one, it is broad and suggestive. The ancients believed in prose rhythm, and used it, though they were unable to give an accurate account of its nature. Cicero states that prose rhythm is something that belongs to nature, and that the art of rhythm is merely the formulation of laws established by nature: cf. Orat. 55, 183: esse ergo in oratione numerum quendam non est difficile cognoscere. iudicat enim sensus; in quo est iniquum quod accidat non agnoscere, si cur id accidat reperire nequeamus. neque enim ipse uersus ratione est cognitus, sed natura atque sensu, quem dimensa ratio docuit quid acciderit. ita notatio naturae et animaduersio peperit artem. In 20, 67, he defines rhythm in its broadest sense: quicquid est enim, quod sub aurium mensuram aliquam cadit, etiam si abest a uersu—nam id quidem orationis est uitium—numeros uocatur, qui Graece ῥυθμὸς dicitur.—Rhythm must have place in the whole body of the oration, but especial care is demanded by the close of *membra* and periods, *i. e.* by the clausulae: cf. Quint. 9, 4, 61: et in omni quidem corpore totoque (ut ita dixerim) tractu numerus insertus. . . . magis tamen et desideratur in clausulis et apparet: primum quia sensus omnis habet suum finem possitque naturale interuallum, quo a sequentis initio diuidatur; deinde quod aures continuam uocem secutae ductaeque uelut prono decurrentis orationis flumine tum magis iudicant, cum ille impetus stetit et intuendi tempus dedit. non igitur durum sit neque abruptum, quo animi uelut respirant ac reficiuntur. haec est sedes orationis, hoc auditor expectat, hic laus omnis declamat. For a study of Cicero's use of clausulae, cf. especially Zielinski (1); Laurand 165 ff.; De Groot (1) 119-31; (2) 9-11.

si . . . diceret . . . concupiscentiis feceritis: the Latin rendering following the Greek, which has the cadence in *concupiscentiis,* gives

wise is concluded by a period made up of two *membra: Owe no man anything, but to love one another.* And a little afterward: *The night is passed, and the day is at hand. Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day: not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities, not in contention and envy: But put you on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its concupiscences.* If this were written: "And provision for the flesh in its concupiscences, make not," it would doubtless please the ear with a more rhythmic close, but the stricter translator has preferred to keep even the exact word order. How this sounds in Greek, the language in which the Apostle spoke, I leave

a clausula perfect in quantity and perhaps in accent, made up of two cretics (|– ⏑ –|– ⏑ –|), which according to De Groot (2, 9) forms the clausula most favored by Cicero, and which according to Reynolds (7) is the one used to terminate one-tenth of the sentences of De Ciu. Dei. A word of several syllables should not be used as a cadence, however, (cf. Quint. 9, 4, 66: quare hoc quoque uitandum est, ne plurium syllaborum his uerbis utamur in fine). *Concupiscentiis* is, therefore, a poor cadence through its want of a caesura, but also probably from the point of view of accent, for if, as is possible, the secondary accent fell on the second syllable of this word in A.'s time, there would also be a difference here between word accent and metrical ictus. That accent as well as quantity was a matter of consideration in clausulae, at this time, and one of no small importance, see Norden 948, Laurand 356. Lack of caesura, and clash of accent and ictus, therefore, were doubtless the reasons for A.'s preference for *concupiscentiis feceritis,* which gives a clausula made up of a cretic followed by a dichoreus (|– ⏑ –|– ⏑|– ⏑|), the best and most sonorous of all the clausulae, perfect in quantity and accent (since *feceritis* was here doubtless acceptably accented on the penult, cf. St.-Schm. 340), and one showing the usual caesura. See Norden (948) for his discussion of this passage. In the Nachträge (19) to his latest edition (1923), he corrects his former interpretation of the clausula in question.

si quisquam: *quisquam* in place of the more usual *quis,* is sometimes used with *si* for emphasis, in Classical Latin. In Late writers this is done where no particular emphasis is intended: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm. 483. *Quisquam* with *si* occurs frequently in the Confessions and De Ciu. Dei: cf. Arts 56; Colbert 31. Note this use also in 20, 41.

9. **mulceret:** mostly Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. Gell. 20, 9: delectari, mulcerique aureo figmentis uerborum nouis. Cicero prefers *permulcere,* cf. Orat. 49, 163, quoted above (p. 136) in note on *propria . . . excurrunt.*

10. **sed grauior . . . uerborum:** Baldwin (2) 69 adds that logical emphasis is also secured by the given word order. Note (Introd., page 22) that both the Old Version and the Vulgate also use this order, though they differ in choice of words.

11. **quomodo . . . ad ista doctiores:** Augustine confesses to his youthful abhorrence of Greek (cf. Conf. 1, 14, 23), and admits his deficiency in it even in his maturer years: cf. De Trin. 3, 1, 1: Graecae . . . linguae non sit nobis tantus habitus, ut talium rerum [*s. c.* de Trinitate] libris legendis et intellegendis ullo modo

tolus, uiderint eius eloquii usque ad ista doctiores; mihi tamen quod nobis eodem uerborum ordine interpretatum est, nec ibi uidetur currere numerose.

41. Sane hunc elocutionis ornatum, qui numerosis fit clausulis, deesse fatendum est auctoribus nostris. quod utrum per interpretes factum sit, an—quod magis arbitror—consulto illi haec plausibilia deuitauerint, affirmare non audeo, quoniam me fateor ignorare. illud tamen scio, quod si quisquam huius numerositatis peritus illorum clausulas eorundem numerorum lege componat, quod facillime fit mutatis quibusdam uerbis, quae tantundem significatione ualent, uel mutato eorum quae inuenerit ordine, nihil illorum quae uelut magna in scholis grammaticorum aut rhetorum didicit, illis diuinis uiris defuisse cognoscet, et multa reperiet locutionis genera

1 dictiones *D*. tamen]autem *EH*. 2 quod]qui *E*; quo *F*. uerborum eodem E. 6 an *om. D*. 9 clausulas eorundem]clausulae ordinem *CFGHI*; clausulam *D*. 12 didicit in *EFH*. 13 reperiet et *D*.

reperiamur idonei. It is not from the standpoint of the professional scholar, therefore, that he makes his next assertion; he speaks merely as one who ventures his opinion, dictated by the general norm of taste. On the whole, however, it should be noted that Augustine's knowledge of Greek was not inconsiderable: cf. Angus, S., The Sources of the First Ten Books of the De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine (Princeton, 1906), 236 ff.; De Labriolle 528. The Greek rendering of the passage in question (*ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίας* [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –]) gives a clausula not uncommon in Greek (cf. De Groot (1) 26, 61). The word accent and metrical ictus do not tally, however, hence doubtless Augustine's criticism. That in his own practice, Augustine used clausulae at once metrical and rhythmical, *i. e.* such as show the distribution of quantities and the position of accents regulated by constant and consistent laws, is pointed out by Reynolds (10 ff.) in his study of De Ciu. Dei. That A. was the first to consider accent as well as quantity in clausulae, as Norden (948) suggests, seems too bold an assertion: cf. Laurand 356 and footnote.

4. **sane . . . auctoribus nostris:** Augustine's criticism of Paul's rhythm in the preceding paragraph, and his admission here and below of the deficiency of the inspired writers in the use of clausulae, even though rhythm, and especially cadences form such an important element of the middle style, is an indirect answer to sophistic criticism of Christian style. A. has shown above, Paul's artistry in the use of words, but he desires to prove that in Paul as in all the inspired writers, verbal beauty is not of paramount importance as it is in the Sophists, but that in the Christian writer, the ornaments of the middle style, when they occur, are always made subservient to the matter they embellish.

6. **plausibilia:** the 'clap-traps' of the Sophists, called by Cicero in Orat. 12, 39, *deliciis uel ineptiis*, since their aim is *nec tam persuadere quam delectare*. In Orat. 69, 230 ff., there is a description of Asianism and its subservience of thought to sound and rhythm, which equally applies to the applause-seeking Sophists of the fourth century: apud alios autem et Asiaticos *maxume numero seruientes* inculcata reperias inania quaedam

to those to explain who are more versed in that tongue even to these technicalities; but to me, it seems that the word order—and it is the same as in our translations—does not even there run musically.

41. We must confess, certainly, that our writers are faulty in that elegance of style marked by rhythmic closings. Whether this is the fault of translators, or, as I rather believe, they themselves purposely avoided such claptraps, I dare not say, since I confess I do not know. But this I do know, that if some one who understands this rhythm, arrange the endings of these writings in accordance with the law of the said rhythms, as can easily be done by replacing certain words by others of the same meaning, or by changing the existing order of words, he will recognize that none of those points which he has learned to consider important in the

uerba quasi complementa numerorum. sunt etiam qui illo uitio . . . infringendis concidendisque numeris in quoddam genus abiectum incidant uersiculorum simillimum. Cicero then proceeds to sum up the chief excesses to which rhythmic prose is open (Orat. 69, 231): sed apud eos uarietas non erat, quod omnia fere concludebantur uno modo. quae uitia qui fugerit ut neque uerbum ita traiciat ut id de industria factum intellegatur, neque inferciens uerba quasi rimas expleat, nec minutos numeros sequens concidat delumbetque sententias, nec sine ulla commutatione in eodem semper uersetur genere numerorum, is omnia fere uitia uitauerit. It is such excesses as these that Augustine likewise decries, claiming that the inspired writers purposely seek to avoid such pitfalls.

8. **numerositatis** = 'rhythm', is noted by Harper as occurring in De Doctr. 4, 20, 41; but the citation, *id. ib.* 55, 109, is incorrectly added. Forcellini, B.-Goelzer, and Georges, all inaccurately cite De Doctr. Chris. 4, 20, 41 under *numerositas*, as meaning 'great number'.

11. **mutato . . . ordine:** Cicero, however, claims that the same result follows the rhythmic ordering of *any* unformed writers: cf. Orat. 70, 233: aut si alicuius inconditi arripias dissupatam aliquam sententiam eamque ordine uerborum paululum commutato in quadrum redigas, efficiatur aptum illud, quod fuerit antea diffluens ac solutum. age sume de Gracchi apud censores illud: 'abesse non potest quin eiusdem hominis sit probos improbare qui improbos probet;' quanto aptius, si ita dixisset: 'quin eiusdem hominis sit qui improbos probet probos improbare'! And in the same paragraph, he claims that if the rhythm of a well-ordered passage is broken up, *corrumpatur* . . . *tota res.* It must be understood, however, that the discussion is here of extremes. The sacred writers, on the other hand, while not making rhythm their purpose and concern, certainly express themselves in a style far from meriting the terms *exilis, arida, exsanguis, hirsuta,* etc. They possess rather a rhythm natural and unsought for, inherent in the subject itself, to use Augustine's own terms (4, 26, 56).

13. **multa reperiet locutionis genera,** etc.: cf. De Doctr. Chris. 3, 37, 56: proinde sicut in uerbis propriis, de quibus superius disputauimus, ubi res dicuntur intellegendae sunt, sic in translatis quae faciunt tropicas locutiones, ubi aliud ex alio intelle-

tanti decoris, quae quidem et in nostra, sed maxime in sua lingua decora sunt, quorum nullum in eis, quibus isti inflantur, litteris inuenitur. sed cauendum est ne diuinis grauibusque sententiis, dum additur numeros, pondus detrahatur. nam illa musica disciplina, ubi numerus iste plenissime discitur, usque adeo non defuit prophetis nostris, ut uir doctissimus Hieronymus quorundam etiam metra commemoret, in hebraea duntaxat lingua, cuius ut ueritatem seruaret in uerbis, haec inde non transtulit. ego autem ut de sensu meo loquar, qui mihi quam aliis et quam aliorum est utique notior, sicut in meo eloquio, quantum modeste fieri arbitror, non praetermitto istos numeros clausularum, ita in auctoribus nostris hoc mihi plus placet, quod ibi eos rarissime inuenio.

2 decorata *E*. quibus]quorum *F*. litteris]numeris *CFI*. 3 -que *om. G*. 4 detrahat *D*. 5 usque *om. E*. 6 doctus *DHI*. 7 metra]membra *E*. commoraret *BFH*. cuius ut]sicut *DF*; sed ut *B*, (*supra alia m.*) *F*. uerita *D*. 8 hoc *E*. ut]ne *E*. 9 loquor *F*. 10 meo]medio *E*.

gendum est, de quibus huc usque quantum uisum est, satis egimus, non solum admonendi sunt studiosi uenerabilium litterarum ut in scripturis sanctis *genera locutionum* sciant, et quomodo apud eos aliquid dici soleat, uigilanter aduertant, memoriterque retineant, uerum etiam . . . orent ut intellegant. And in chapter 29, 40, of the same book, Augustine speaks even more plainly of the figurative style of Holy Scripture: sciant autem litterati, modis omnibus locutionis, quos grammatici graeco nomine tropos uocant, auctores nostros usos fuisse, et multiplicius atque copiosius, quam possunt existimare uel credere qui nesciunt eos, et in aliis ista didicerunt. quos tamen tropos qui nouerunt, agnoscunt in litteris sanctis, eorumque scientia ad eas intellegendas aliquantum adiuuantur.

3. **sed cauendum . . . detrahatur:** Cicero's ideal is much the same, but expressed from the standpoint of one claiming the necessity of rhythm. He holds that that rhythm is best which is so unobtrusive as not to be noticed by the listener. Weighty matter makes this all the more possible. The audience is pleased by the beauty of the *thought* in the words, not realizing that technique has a great part to play in the accomplishment of the effect: cf. Orat. 58, 197: itaque in uaria et perpetua oratione hi sunt inter se miscendi et temperandi. sic minime animaduertetur delectationis aucupium et quadrandae orationis industria; quae latebit eo magis, si et uerborum et sententiarum ponderibus utemur. nam qui audiunt haec duo animaduertunt et iucunda sibi censent, uerba dico et sententias, eaque dum animis attentis admirantes excipiunt, fugit eos et praeteruolat numerus; qui tamen si abesset, illa ipsa delectarent minus. St. Augutine judges from the viewpoint of one whose first thought is for the weightiness of the matter, for whom rhythm while not to be contemned, is always of secondary consideration. Both these views are sane ones, in comparison with the extreme tenets of the Sophists.

7. **metra:** Silver Latin: cf. Quint. 9, 4, 46: nam rhythmi, id est numeri, spatio temporum constant, metra etiam ordine, ideoque alterum esse quantitatis uidetur, alterum qualitatis.

ut ueritatem . . . transtulit: the Christian ideal: truth has first place; beauty, second.

8. **ego autem . . . numeros clau-**

schools of the grammarians or rhetoricians are missing in these divinely inspired authors; and he will find many kinds of expressions of great beauty—beautiful indeed also in our own language, but especially so in theirs, none of which are to be found in that literature of which they are so vain. But care must be taken not to detract from the weight of the divine and authoritative utterances, while adding rhythm to them. For that musical training in which rhythm is thoroughly learned is so far from being lacking in our Prophets that the learned Jerome even makes mention of the meters used by some, in the Hebrew only however, for in order to keep the true meaning of the words he has not translated them metrically. But as for myself, to speak of my own tastes—better known to me, of course, than to others, and than those of others—although in my own language, as far as I think it reasonable, I do not neglect these rhythmic endings, still, in our authors I am better pleased to find them used very rarely.

sularum: De Ciu. Dei may be taken as an example of Augustine's own practice in the use of clausulae. It shows first of all that he was not unmindful of the rhythmic precepts of his day, but that in using them he preferred to return, as in other matters, to classical standards rather than to follow the formalism of the third and fourth centuries. His language is simple and natural, not violent and strained, the thought governing the rhythm, not the rhythm the thought. Because of the importance that accent had gained in his day, his clausulae pass beyond Cicero's in being at once metrical and rhythmical. How thoroughly he was dominated, however, by the classical ideal, can readily be seen by a comparison of the following resumé of his accomplishment in clausulae, with the Ciceronian standard expressed in the quotation from the *Orator* given above. Reynolds (63) draws the following conclusions from his study of the cadences of De Ciu. Dei: "Both the metrical system and the rhythmical system here employed embrace a wide variety of possible and allowed forms. There is no monotony in the wearisome repetition of a few excessively palpable metres. The art of concealing art is practised by means, first of the large number of forms used, second by the variation of these forms through resolution, and third by the large percentage of weak and poor forms admitted, which while they do not grate upon the ear, at the same time do not weary it by a too obvious perfection. And another purpose is at the same time served, namely that of allowing greater ease and freedom to the writer, to the advantage of the naturalness and forcefulness of his style."

10. **non praetermitto . . . clausularum:** Reynolds offers his belief that A. here is not limiting the frequency of his own use of clausulae in general, but merely of his use of the few forms recommended by the schools. Augustine's aversion is not to the tempered use of the rhythmic prose of the classical period, but to the formalism and excess of Sophistic.

12. **rarissime:** this superlative belongs to Silver Latin.

42. Grande autem dicendi genus hoc maxime distat ab isto genere temperato, quod non tam uerborum ornatibus comptum est, quam uiolentum animi affectibus. nam capit etiam illa ornamenta pene omnia; sed ea si non habuerit, non requirit. fertur quippe impetu suo, et elocutionis pulchritudinem, si occurrerit, ui rerum rapit, non cura decoris assumit. satis enim est ei propter quod agitur ut uerba congruentia non oris eligantur industria, sed pectoris sequantur ardorem. nam si aurato gemmatoque ferro uir fortis armetur, intentissimus pugnae, agit quidem illis armis quod agit, non quia pretiosa, sed quia arma sunt; idem ipse est tamen, et ualet plurimum, etiam cum rimanti telum ira facit. agit apostolus, ut pro euangelico ministerio patienter mala huius temporis,

1 isto *om. E.* 2 compositum *BDF*; acceptum *E*; coeptum *CG*; aptum *I.* 3 quam]quod *A.* uiolentis *E.* illa *om. D.* 5 pulchritudine *B.* ui *om. F*; ui]ut *A*; eorum *add. E.* uerum *F.* 6 capit *I*; rapit rerum *E.* enim *om. D.* 7 uerbis *E.* cordis *E.* 9 quidem agit *E.* armis illis *H.* 10 tamen est *E.* 11 et *om. I.* etiam *om. H.* uibranti *C.* telum ira]tela mira *A*; telam ira *G*; telo mira *EHI* (*Lou.* [*Maur.*]).

1. **grande . . . affectibus:** the grand style and the temperate spring from the same source, the *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους* of Theophrastus, representing rhetoric proper *vs.* *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα*, dialectic. It is of importance to distinguish between the two styles properly called rhetorical. The middle style is characterized by the ornaments of figures of words (*σχήματα λέξεως*), the grand by the emotion of figures of thought (*σχήματα διανοίας*). It was when these figures were themselves definitely distinguished that these two styles found their proper differentiation. The figures of words belong particularly to the middle style because they most readily bring about its end, *delectare*, the office as seen above, developed from Aristotle's conception of the personal character of the speaker (*ἦθος*) as a means of persuasion; the figures of thought belong particularly to the grand style as being most adapted to its end, *flectere*, that office conceived of by Aristotle as especially dealing with the emotions (*πάθη*). These traditional distinctions, Cicero takes over, explaining in Orat. 37, 128 the character of the two styles, which may together be called eloquence in the true sense of the word: duae res sunt enim, quae bene tractatae ab oratore admirabilem eloquentiam faciant. quorum alterum est, quod Graeci *ἠθικὸν* uocant, ad naturam et ad mores et ad omnem uitae consuetudinem accommodatum; alterum, quod idem *παθητικὸν* nominant, quo perturbantur animi et concitantur, in quo regnat oratio. illud superius come iucundum, ad beneuolentiam conciliandam paratum; hoc uehemens incensum incitatum, quo causae eripiuntur: quod cum rapide fertur, sustineri nullo pacto potest.

3. **quam uiolentum animi affectibus:** cf. Quint. 12, 10, 61: at ille [modus dicendi] qui saxa deuoluat et pontem indignetur et ripas sibi faciat, multus et torrens iudicem uel nitentem contra feret cogetque ire, qua rapiet. Orat. 28, 97: sed hanc eloquentiam, quae cursu magno sonituque ferretur. *Ibid.* 5, 20: nam et grandiloqui, . . . uehementes copiosi graues, ad permouendos et conuertendos animos instructi et parati.

nam capit . . . omnia: cf. Auct. ad Her. 4, 8, 11: in graui consumetur oratio figura, si, quae cuiusque rei poterunt ornatissima uerba reperiri siue propria siue extranea, ad unam quamque rem adcommodabun-

42. The grand style of speaking differs from this moderate style especially in this that it is not so much adorned by ornate expressions, as rendered passionate by the heart's emotions. For it uses, indeed, almost all of the ornaments of the other, but if it does not have them at hand, it does not seek them out. It is borne on, in fact, by its own vehemence, and catches up any beauty of style, which may occur, through the very force of the matter, but it does not put on any such through care of ornament. It is enough for its purpose, not that fitting terms be chosen with thought of the expression, but that they be governed by the ardor of the heart. For if a brave man be armed with weapons adorned with gold and jewels, being fully intent on battle, he accomplishes indeed what he does with these very arms, not because they are precious, but because they are arms; and still he himself is the same, and very formidable even when but anger furnishes a weapon for him at his seeking. The Apostle urges that for the sake of the ministry of the Gospel all the evils of this life be suffered through the help of

tur, et si graues sententiae, quae in amplificatione et commiseratione tractantur, eligentur, et si exornationes sententiarum aut uerborum, quae grauitatem habebunt, . . . adhibebuntur. Orat. 39, 134: ex omni genere frequentissimae tralationes erunt, quod eae propter similitudinem transferunt animos et referunt ac mouent huc et illuc.

4. **sed ea si non . . . ardorem:** Augustine is again warning the Christian orator against sophistic methods, and is making a plea for the *πρέπον*, *decorum*, of classical standards: cf. Orat. 35, 123 ff.: nam nec semper nec apud omnis nec contra omnis nec pro omnibus nec cum omnibus eodem modo dicendum arbitror. is erit ergo eloquens, qui ad id quodcumque decebit poterit accommodare orationem. . . . cum uero causa ea *inciderit*, in qua uis eloquentiae possit expromi, tum se latius fundet orator, tum reget et flectet animos et sic afficiet, ut uolet, *id est ut causae natura et ratio temporis postulabit.*

8. **nam si . . . ira facit:** a comparison that cannot but bring home *the* quality of the grand style that is all essential: *ψυχαγωγία*, cf. Plato, Phaedrus 271 d: *ἐπειδὴ λόγου δύναμις τυγχάνει ψυχαγωγία οὖσα.*

aurato: mostly Poetic and Silver, but used by Cicero three times: cf. T. L. L. II, 1520, 17-27.

gemmato: Poetic and Silver.

11. **rimanti . . . ira facit:** cf. Verg. Aen. 7, 507: quod cuique repertum rimanti telum ira facit.

agit . . . tolerentur: to prove that the essential of the grand style is emotional appeal, whether made with the help of ornaments of speech or not, A. proceeds to give three examples of this style, all of which are grand by reason of the emotion with which they throb, but all of which attain this end by different means: the first from 2 Cor. 6, 2-11, making use of figures of thought; the second from Rom. 8, 28-39, using the lesser ornaments, figures of words, but raising them above mere floridness of style by the ardor with which they are expressed; the third from Gal. 4, 10-20, wanting in embellishments, but grand by reason of its moving force.

cum solatio donorum Dei, omnia tolerentur. magna res est, et
2 Cor. 6, 2-11 granditer agitur, nec desunt ornamenta dicendi. *ecce* inquit *nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis. nullam in quoquam dantes offensionem, ut non reprehendatur ministerium nostrum; sed in omnibus commendantes nosmetipsos ut Dei ministros, in multa patientia, in tribulationibus, in necessitatibus, in angustiis, in plagis, in carceribus, in seditionibus, in laboribus, in uigiliis, in ieiuniis, in castitate, in scientia, in longanimitate, in benignitate, in Spiritu sancto, in charitate non ficta, in uerbo ueritatis, in uirtute Dei; per arma iustitiae dextra et sinistra, per gloriam et ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam; ut seductores et ueraces; ut qui ignoramur et cognoscimur; quasi morientes, et ecce uiuimus, ut coerciti, et non mortificati; ut tristes, semper autem gaudentes; sicut egeni, multos autem ditantes; tamquam nihil habentes, et omnia possidentes.* uide adhuc ardentem, *os nostrum patet ad uos, o Corinthii, cor nostrum dilatatum est,* et caetera, quae persequi longum est.

43. Itemque ad Romanos agit, ut persecutiones huius mundi charitate uincantur, spe certa in adiutorio Dei. agit autem gran-
Rom. 8, 28-39 diter et ornate. *scimus* inquit *quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum uocati sunt. quoniam quos ante praesciuit, et praedestinauit conformes imaginis*

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1 cum solatio]consolatio *D*; consolatione *H*; cum *om. EI*. 2 ecce nunc inquit tempus acceptabile *D*. 3 nunc *om. E*. quodam *H*. 4 nostrum *om. ABDI*. 10 a dextris et a sinistris *EI Maur. Vulg.*; a dextris et sinistris *Ver.An.*; a dextra et sinistra *D*; dextrae et sinistrae *G*. 13 ut (coerciti) *om. Ver.An. Mig.* 14 egentes *AC Ver.An. Vulg.* autem *om. I*. 15 uide] unde *A*. 20 inquit]enim *E*. 21 cooperatur *B*. his *ABCDFGHI Ver.An.*; hiis *E*. uocat *E*. uocati sunt sancti *ACEFHI Vulg.* 22 conformis *D*; fieri *add. A (supra alia m.), B (supra), EHI Ver.An. Vulg. (editi; at MSS carent uocibus* sancti *et* fieri, *quae praetermitti solent ab Aug., et a Graeco textu absunt* [*Maur.*]). imagines *GI*.

1. magna res . . . ornamenta dicendi: in Orat. 39, 136, Cicero after summarizing figures of words says: *sed sententiarum ornamenta maiora sunt.* These are the figures proper to the grand style (σχήματα διανοίας). In 40, 137, he describes them. It is interesting to find many exemplified in the passage from the Second Corinthians, *e. g.* the following: sic igitur dicet ille, quem expetimus, ut uerset saepe multis eadem et una in re haereat in eademque commoretur sententia; . . . ut quid dixit iteret, . . . ut contra ac dicat accipi et sentiri uelit; . . . ut hominum sermones moresque describat; . . . ut comparet similitudines; . . . ut deprecetur, ut supplicet, ut medeatur; . . . ut optet, ut execretur; ut fiat iis apud quos dicet familiaris.

2. ecce . . . dilatatum est: A. quotes verses 4-10 of this chapter, in Contr. Cresc. 1, 16, 20, in his differentiation, there, between rhetoric and dialectic. He says: hoc ille uerus disputator si late diffuseque faciat eloquenter facit, alioque tunc censetur augetur uocabulo, ut dictor potius quam disputator uocetur; sicut illum locum apostolus copiose dilatat atque diffundit. Then after giving the quotation, he concludes: quid enim hoc stilo apostolico uberius et ornatius, id est *eloquentius*, facile inuenis?

the consolation accompanying God's gifts. Great is the theme, and grandly it is treated, though still not without ornaments of style. *Behold* says he *now is the acceptable time; behold now is the day of salvation. Giving no offense to any man, that our ministry be not blamed. But in all things commending ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in tribulations, in necessities, in trials, in stripes, in prisons, in seditions, in labors, in watchings, in fastings, in chastity, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in kindness, in the Holy Ghost, in charity unfeigned, in the word of truth, in the power of God; by the armour of justice on the right hand and on the left; by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report; as deceivers and yet true; as unknown, and yet known; as dying and behold we live; as chastised, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as needy, yet enriching many; as having nothing, yet possessing all things.* Behold him still on fire: *Our mouth is open to you, O ye Corinthians, our heart is enlarged,* and so on, but it would take long to pursue it further.

43. And so, too, he urges upon the Romans that the sufferings of this world be overcome by charity, with certain hope in the help of God. His exhortation is in the grand style, and at the same time figurative. *We know* he says *that to them that love God, all things work together unto good, to such as, according to His purpose, are called. For whom He foreknew, he also predestinated to be made*

15. **uide . . . dilatatum est:** note the discrimination of the teacher. *Ardens* expresses the very essence of the grand style, and the part of this quotation which most *ardently* throbs and glows is precisely this concluding apostrophe: *os nostrum,* etc.

18. **ad Romanos agit:** the Epistle to the Romans is largely plain in style, being especially expository and argumentative. It rises, however, at times to the grand style, as here.

ad . . . agit . . . ut = 'urge upon that', is limited, in Class. Latin, to a formal proposal of a measure before the people. *Cum* and the ablative with a following *ut*, is the usual construction with *ago* used informally: cf. Ad Fam. 5, 2: egi cum Claudia et cum uestra sorore Mucia ut eum ad illa iniuria deterrerent: cf. T. L. L. I, 1391, 21-56; 1393, 20-32.

19. **spe . . . in:** cf. De Inuent. 1, 39, 71: summa amentia est in eorum fide spem habere. The usual classical construction, however, with *spes* is either an objective genitive or *ad* and the accusative. *In* and the ablative, here, may be a development of the colloquial language, but the influence of the Hebrew and Greek idioms on the Latin Bible is also responsible for the extension of this usage in Late Latin: cf. Rönsch 397; McGuire 37; Arts 36.

adiutorio: rare, mostly Silver and Late: cf. Sen. Contr. 1, 2, 18: sine deorum immortalium adiutorio. Vulg. Psalm. 7, 11: adiutorium meum a Domino. Cf. T. L. L. I, 717, 2-4.

granditer et ornate: Cicero enumerates the principal *figurae uerbo-*

Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. quos autem praedestinauit, illos et uocauit; et quos uocauit, ipsos et iustificauit quos autem iustificauit, illos et glorificauit. quid ergo dicemus ad haec? si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? qui Filio proprio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum, quomodo non et cum illo omnia nobis donauit? quis accusabit aduersus electos Dei? Deus qui iustificat? quis est qui condemnet? Christus Iesus qui mortuus est, magis autem qui resurrexit, qui est in dextera Dei, qui et interpellat pro nobis? quis nos separabit a charitate Christi? tribulatio? an angustia an persecutio? an fames? an nuditas? an
Psal. 43, 22 *periculum? an gladius? sicut scriptum est, quia propter te mortificamur, tota die, aestimati sumus ut oues occisionis. sed in his omnibus superuincimus per eum qui dilexit nos. certus sum enim quia neque mors, neque uita, neque angelus, neque principatus, neque praesentia, neque futura, neque uirtus, neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura alia poterit nos separare a charitate Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.*

44. Ad Galatas autem quamuis tota ipsa epistola submisso dicendi genere scripta sit, nisi in extremis partibus ubi est eloquium temperatum, tamen interponit quendam locum eo motu animi, ut sine ullis quidem talibus ornamentis, qualia sunt in iis quae modo
Gal. 4, 10-20 posuimus, non posset tamen nisi granditer dici. *dies* inquit *obseruatis, et menses, et annos, et tempora. timeo uos, ne forte sine causa laborauerim in uobis. estote sicut et ego, quoniam et ego sicut uos; fratres, precor uos; nihil me laesistis. scitis quia per infirmitatem carnis iampridem euangelizaui uobis, et tentationem uestram*

2 ipsos]illos *HE*. 3 illos]ipsos *ABDEF*. dicimus *H*. 4 proprio Filio *EI Maur.*; Filio suo proprio *F*. 5 illum *AEI Ver.An. Vulg. Maur.* 6 et]etiam *Ver.An. Vulg. Maur.*; et *om. EI.* nobis omnia *Maur.* accusauit *F*; excusauit *Ver.An.* 7 est *om. C Ver.An.* qui *om. F Ver.An.* condemnat *BDG.* 8 qui et est *B Ver.An.* in dextera]ad dexteram *F Ver.An.* 10 an (angustia) *om. D*; an]et *E*. 11 quoniam *G* (*sic em.*), *Maur.* 12 hiis *E*. 13 superamus *EF* (superuincimus *supra alia m.*), *Ver.An.* per]in *E*. 14 angeli *AEI Maur. Vulg.* 16 aliqua *E*. nos poterit separare *BF*. 18 ipsa *om. E*; illa *BDH*. 19 in *om. EI*. 20 eo *om B*. 21 his *ABCDFGH*; illis *I*. 22 possit *CH*. 23 uos *om. E*. 24 in uos *DFH Maur.* (*MSS iuxta Graecum* εἰς ὑμᾶς [*Maur.*]). (sicut) et *om. CE Vulg.* 25 sciatis *F*. 26 euangelizaui uobis iampridem *F Ver.An. Vulg.* tentationes uestras *EI Maur.*

rum in Orat. 39, 135. It should be noted how Paul makes use of many of these in the passage given below, although he couples with them some of the greater *figurae sententiarum* (for enumeration, see note above on p. 146, *magna res*, to which add: ut interrogando urgeat, ut rursus quasi ad interrogata sibi ipse respondeat [Orat. 40, 137]). The σχήματα λέξεως, described by Cicero are: cum aut duplicantur iteranturque uerba aut breuiter commutata ponuntur, aut ab eodem uerbo ducitur saepius oratio . . . aut idem ad extremum refertur; . . . aut cum similiter uel cadunt uerba uel desinunt; aut cum sunt contrariis relata contraria; . . . aut cum

comformable to the image of His Son; that He might be the First-born among many brethren. And whom He predestinated, them He also called. And whom he called, them He also justified. And whom He justified, them He also glorified. What shall we say then to these things? If God be for us, who is against us? He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, hath He not also, with Him, given us all things? Who shall accuse against the elect of God? God that justifieth? Who is he that shall condemn? Jesus Christ that died, but more, that is risen again; who is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us? Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? or distress? or persecution? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or the sword? As it is written: 'For thy sake we are put to death all the day long. We are counted sheep for the slaughter.' But in all these things we overcome, because of Him that hath loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor might nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Jesus Christ our Lord.

44. And in writing to the Galatians, although the whole Epistle is written in the subdued style, except at the very end where the moderate style is used, nevertheless he inserts one passage of such emotion, that destitute as it is of such ornament as we see in the selection just quoted, still it could not but be expressed in the grand style. *You observe days* he says *and months, and years, and times. I am afraid of you, lest perhaps I have labored in vain for you. Be ye as I, because I also am as you: brethren, I beseech you: you have not injured me at all. And you know, how through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the Gospel unto you heretofore: and your temptation in my flesh, you despised not, nor rejected: but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where then*

corrigimus nosmet ipsos quasi reprehendentes (Orat. 39, 135).

18. **ad Galatas . . . dici**: this Epistle, as a whole, exemplifies the blending of the three styles in one composition, though with the predominance of one—the ideal in writing or speaking, which Augustine will treat of in chapters 22, 23, and 26.

20. **tamen**, for greater emphasis, at times is found at the beginning of a clause: cf. Cic. Marc. 4; Liv. 21, 55, 10: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

22. **dies . . . obseruatis, etc.**: an example of the unadorned grand style. The emotion of the writer is sufficient in itself without ornaments, to lift the listener to the higher levels of grandeur of speech. Augustine expresses this succinctly below: non tepuit grandis *affectus*, quo eloquium *feruere* sentimus.

in carne mea non spreuistis, neque respuistis; sed sicut angelum Dei excepistis me, sicut Christum Iesum. quae ergo fuit beatitudo uestra? testimonium uobis perhibeo, quoniam si fieri posset, oculos uestros eruissetis et dedissetis mihi. ergo inimicus factus sum uobis uerum praedicans? aemulantur uos non bene, sed excludere uos uolunt, ut eos aemulemini. bonum est autem aemulari in bono semper, et non solum cum praesens sum apud uos. filioli mei, quos iterum parturio donec Christus formetur in uobis. uellem autem nunc adesse apud nos, et mutare uocem meam, quia confundor in uobis. numquid hic aut contraria contrariis uerba sunt reddita, aut aliqua gradatione sibi subnexa sunt, aut caesa et membra circuitusque sonuerunt? et tamen non ideo tepuit grandis affectus, quo eloquium feruere sentimus.

21, 45. Sed apostolica ista sic clara sunt, ut et profunda sint, atque ita conscripta memoriaeque mandata, ut non solum lectore uel auditore, uerum etiam expositore opus habeant, si quis in eis non superficie contentus altitudinem quaerat, quapropter uideamus ista genera dicendi in eis qui istorum lectione ad rerum diuinarum atque salubrium scientiam profecerunt, eamque ecclesiae ministrarunt. beatus Cyprianus submisso dicendi genere utitur in eo libro ubi de sacramento calicis disputat. soluitur quippe ibi quaestio, in qua quaeritur utrum calix dominicus aquam solam, an eam uino mixtam debeat habere. sed exempli gratia aliquid inde ponendum

1 non]si *A.* 2 me *om. CGH.* Iesum Christum *EH*; Christum Dominum *F.* 3 uobis *om. D.* 4 sum *om. E.* 6 ut]ne (ut *supra*) *G.* est *om. C Vulg.* in bono aemulari *Maur.*; aemulamini in bono *C Vulg.* 7 uos *om. E.* 8 formetur Christus *EI Maur. Ver.An. Vulg.* 9 esse *CGH*; et esse *E.* immutare *E*; mutarem *G.* 12 non *om. D.* 13 quod *E.* eloquiorum *I.* sentiamus *E.* 14 et *om. D.* sint *om. E.* 15 ita *om. A.* conscripta sint *E.* commendata *B.* 18 ad]in *E*; at *G.* 19 eaque *CG*; eademque *EI.* ministrantur ecclesiae *E.* 20 eodem *E.* 22 eam uino]etiam uino *B* (*sic em.*), *I*; uino etiam *E*; eam in uino *H.* 23 mixtum *D.*

11. **sibi:** the use of the reflexive pronoun to express reciprocal relation is found especially in the language of the people: cf. St.-Schm. 471.

12. **tepuit** = 'cooled off', is found in Silver and Late Latin: cf. Lucan 4, 284: paulatim cadit ira ferox, mentesque tepescunt.

13. **feruere,** in the transferred sense, is used only for great emotion, otherwise *uigere* is employed, *e. g.* studium litterarum uiget. Cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

21. *Examples of the three styles, drawn from SS. Cyprian and Ambrose.*

15. **conscripta memoriaeque mandata:** cf. De Catech. Rud. 4, 8: quaecumque posterius salubriter conscripta sunt memoriaeque mandata diuinarum uolumina litterarum. *Memoriae mandata* (= class. *memoriae prodita*) means 'handed down as tradition' in Late Latin, though in classical times it meant only 'impressed on the memory'. For an example of the latter usage in Augustine, cf.

is your blessedness? For I bear you witness, that if it could be done, you would have plucked out your own eyes, and would have given them to me. Am I then become your enemy, because I tell you the truth? They are zealous in your regard not well: but they would exclude you, that you might be zealous for them. But to be zealous in good always, is good: and not only when I am present with you. My little children, of whom I am in labour again, until Christ be formed in you. And I would willingly be present with you now, and change my voice: because I am ashamed for you. Here have we examples of antithesis, or climax, or the resonance of *caesa* and *membra* or periods? And yet, notwithstanding, there is no flagging in the deep emotion with which we feel that the language of the passage is aglow.

21, 45. But these writings of the Apostle, though clear, are nevertheless also deep, and are so written and handed down, that they not only require to be read and heard, but also to be explained, if anyone, not content with superficial knowledge of them, inquire also into their depths. Therefore, let us examine these kinds of style in the writings of those men who through their reading of the Scriptures have attained knowledge of the divine and saving truths, and have ministered it unto the Church. The blessed Cyprian uses the subdued style of speech in his book on the Sacrament of the chalice. For there he answers the question as to whether the chalice of the Lord should contain water only, or water mixed with wine. But we must give a passage therefrom by way of illustration. After

Conf. 5, 3, 3: et quoniam multa philosophorum legeram memoriaeque mandata retinebam.

16. **opus habeant:** *opus habere* is found in Columella 9, 1, 5, then only in Late Latin. There are three examples of it in the Confessions: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; St.-Schm.. 436; Salonius 263; Arts 78.

17. **superficie,** in the transferred sense, is Late: cf. Tert. ad Nat. 1, 5; Prosp. Aquit. in Psalm. 147, v. 16; Aug. in Psalm. 107, 2: ubi significatur ad unum aliquid concurrere utrumque, non superficie historiae, sed altitudine prophetiae.

altitudinem = 'depth', 'profundity', is found particularly in Silver and Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; T. L. L. I, 1769, 34-50.

19. **ministrarunt,** 'presented', is mostly Silver and Late Latin.

20. **beatus . . . disputat:** the following examples of the plain style from Cyprian and Ambrose, are purely dialectical in character. They again prove that to Augustine the plain style was essentially an argumentative one. Note the dialectical terms used: *disputat . . . soluitur quaestio . . . quaeritur . . . demonstrat . . . rerum documenta desiderat.*

est. post principium ergo epistolae, iam soluere incipiens propositam quaestionem, *admonitos autem nos scias* inquit *ut in calice offerendo dominica traditio seruetur neque aliud fiat a nobis quam quod pro nobis Dominus prior facit, ut calix qui in commemorationem eius offertur, mixtus uino offeratur. nam cum dicat Christus,* Ioan. 15, 5 *'ego sum uitis uera', sanguis Christi non aqua est utique, sed uinum; nec potest uideri sanguis eius, quo redempti et uiuificati sumus, esse in calice, quando uinum desit calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur, qui scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio praedicatur. inuenimus enim in Genesi circa sacramentum Noe hoc idem praecucurisse et figuram dominicae passionis illic exti-* Gen. 9, 21-23 *tisse quod uinum bibit, quod inebriatus est, quod in domo sua nudatus est, quod fuit recubans nudis et patentibus femoribus, quod nuditas illa patris a medio filio denotata est, a maiore uero et minore contecta, et caetera quae necesse non est exsequi, cum satis sit hoc solum complecti quod Noe typum futurae ueritatis ostendens, non aquam sed uinum biberit et sic imaginem dominicae passionis expresserit. item in sacerdote Melchisedech dominicum sacramentum praefiguratum uidemus secundum quod scriptura* Gen. 14, 18-19 *diuina testatur et dicit, 'et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et uinum. fuit autem sacerdos Dei summi, et benedixit Abraham.' quod autem Melchisedech typum Christi portaret, declarat in psalmis* Psal. 109, 4 *Spiritus sanctus, ex persona Patris ad Filium dicens: 'ante Luciferum genui te. tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.'* haec et alia quae sequuntur huius epistolae submissae dictionis modum seruant, quod facile est explorare legentibus.

46. Sanctus quoque Ambrosius cum agat rem magnam de Spiritu sancto, ut eum Patri et Filio demonstret aequalem, submisso tamen dicendi genere utitur, quoniam res suscepta non ornamenta uerborum, aut ad flectendos animos commotionis affectum, sed rerum documenta desiderat. ergo inter caetera, in principio huius

1 ergo epistolae]ergo eius epistolae *B*; eius epistolae *D*. 2 ut *om. F*. 3 traditio seruetur] obseruetur traditio *E*. 4 Dominus pro nobis *C*. in commemoratione *ABCDEFG Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). 5 uino mixtus *Maur.* 7 uideri *om. E*. 8 in calice esse *E*. quo]quod *Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). 9 ostenditur]effunditur *D*. omnium]nominum *D*. 10 praedicetur *ACD*, (*sic em.*) *F*, *G Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). enim et *D*. 11 praecurrisse *AE*. 12 est et *E*. 13 nudus *C*. 14 illa patris nuditas *E*. denotata est]denudata est *H*, (*sic em.*) *G*; et foras nuntiata *add. D*; sed et foras, etc. *add. Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). a (maiore) *om. D*. 15 a duobus uero maiore et minore *Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). 16 ueritatis futurae *C*. 18 dominicum sacramentum]sacrificii dominici sacramenti *DG*; sacrificii dominici sacramentum *Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). 19 uidemus mysterium *CFGH*; (dominici sacramenti praefiguratum uidemus mysterium *prius editi* [*Maur.*]). divina scriptura *E*. 20 Salem *om. E*. 22 portarit *A*. 24 generaui te et *A*. 25 haec *om. DF*. talia *D*. submisse *AD*. 26 dictionis]dicimus (dicendi *in marg. alia m.*) *D*. 28 quoque]uero *E*. 29 demonstraret *BD*. 30 genere dicendi *E*. re *FI*. 31 ad]de *E*. commotionis affectum] commotioni affectum *D*; commotio affectuum *B*.

2. **admonitos autem nos, etc.:** Cypr. Epist. ad Caecil. 63, 2-4.

32. **desiderat** = 'wants': cf. Caes. B. G. 2, 32, 12: nulla omnino naue desiderata.

the introduction, therefore, to his letter, already beginning his answer to the question proposed, he says: "But you should know that we have been taught in offering the chalice, to observe the tradition of the Lord, and not to do anything other than what the Lord first did for us, namely, to offer water mixed with wine in the chalice which is offered in commemoration of Him. For since Christ says, *I am the true vine,* the Blood of Christ is certainly not water, but wine; and so His Blood, by which we are redeemed and vivified, cannot possibly be held to be in the chalice when the chalice does not contain wine, for in the wine is Christ's Blood manifested as foretold by the mystical testimony of all the Scriptures. For we find in the book of Genesis in regard to the sacrament, that Noe has foreshadowed it and has stood out as a type of our Lord's Passion, in that he drank wine and was inebriated therewith, and that in his own house he lay uncovered, with limbs bare; and that this nakedness of his father was exposed by his second son, but that by his elder and his younger it was covered up—but there is no need to carry the account further, since it is sufficient to explain this one point, that Noe, showing himself a type of the future reality, drank not water, but wine, and thus set forth a figure of our Lord's Passion. In like manner we see the Sacrament of the Lord prefigured in the priest Melchisedech, according to what Holy Scripture testifies in these words: *But Melchisedech, the King of Salem, brought forth bread and wine. For he was the priest of the most high God, and he blessed Abraham.* And that Melchisedech was a figure of Christ, is declared in the Psalms, by the Holy Spirit, where in the person of the Father addressing the Son, He says: *Before the day star I begot Thee. Thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchisedech.*" This and the remainder of the letter maintained the subdued style of speech, as is easy for readers to ascertain.

46. St. Ambrose, too, though treating a subject of great importance, to prove that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son, uses, none the less, the subdued style, for the matter in hand calls not for embellishment in words, nor for the stirring of the emotions to move hearts, but for the proof of facts. And so, among other things in the introduction to this work he says: "Gedeon,

Iud. 6, 11-21 operis ait, *quo motus oraculo Gedeon, cum audisset quod deficien-*
tibus licet populorum milibus, in uno uiro Dominus plebem suam
ab hostibus liberaret, obtulit haedum caprarum, cuius carnem
secundum praeceptum angeli, et azyma supra petram posuit, et ea
iure perfudit; quae simul ut uirgae cacumine, quam gerebat, an-
gelus Dei contigit, de petra ignis erupit, atque ita sacrificium quod
offerebatur absumptum est. quo indicio declaratum uidetur, quod
petra illa typum habuerit corporis Christi; quia scriptum est,
1 Cor. 10, 4 *'bibebant de consequenti petra, petra autem erat Christus.' quod*
utique non ad diuinitatem eius, sed ad carnem relatum est, quae
sitientium corda populorum perenni riuo sui sanguinis inundauit.
iam tunc igitur in mysterio declaratum est, quia Dominus Iesus
in carne sua, totius mundi peccata crucifixus aboleret, nec solum
delicta factorum, sed etiam cupiditates animorum, caro enim haedi
ad culpam facti refertur, ius ad illecebras cupiditatum, sicut scrip-
Num. 11, 4 *tum est, 'quia concupiuit populus cupiditatem pessimam, et dixe-*
runt, "quis nos cibabit carne?"' quod igitur extendit angelus
uirgam, et tetigit petram, de qua ignis exiit, ostendit quod caro
Domini Spiritu repleta diuino, peccata omnia humanae conditionis
Luc. 12, 49 *exureret, unde et Dominus ait, 'ignem ueni mittere in terram,'*
et caetera, in quibus rei docendae ac probandae maxime incumbit.

47. De genere temperato est apud Cyprianum uirginitatis illa laudatio: *nunc nobis ad uirgines sermo est, quarum quo sublimior gloria est maior et cura. flos est ille ecclesiastici germinis, decus atque ornamentum gratiae spiritualis, laeta indoles, laudis et honoris opus integrum atque incorruptum, Dei imago respondens ad sanctimoniam Domini, illustrior portio gregis Christi. gaudet per ipsas atque in illis largiter floret ecclesiae matris gloriosa fecunditas, quantoque plus gloriosa uirginitas numero suo addit, gau-*

1 ait *om. I.* quo motus]commotus *ADEHI Maur.; non tamen BCFG Ambr.-Mig.* (*uet. et MSS longe plurimi* [*Ambr.-Mig.*]). 2 militibus *D.* 3 carne *D.* 4 praecepta *EG.* azymi *D.* 5 iuge *A*; iusse (*supra*) *F.* et ea iure perfudit](et super eam ius effudit *MSS aliquot*; et ea thure effudit *Albin.* [*Ambr.-Mig.*]). ut]et *EG.* angeli *A.* 6 ita *om. E.* 7 assumptum *F.* 8 habuerint *E.* 9 consequente *B Vulg.*; eos *add. AF Ambr.-Mig.*; se *add. Ver.An.* 11 mundauit *B.* 12 Iesus his *H.* 15 facti *om. CG.* refertur facti *E.* 16 cupiditate pessima *F.* 17 cibabit carne]cibauit carnem *D*; cibauit carnes *F*; cubabit carne *G.* quid *E.* 18 exit *F.* 19 omnia diuine *E.* conditionis humanae *E.* 20 in]super *GH.* 21 in quibus]cuius *CG.* 23 uobis *I.* qua *F*; et *add. F.* 24 cura est *Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). illi *F.* 25 indoles atque *E.* 28 ipsas]illas *Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). floret largiter *E.* generosa *C.* 29 copiosa *Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*); generosa *Floriacensi* [*Maur.*]). addit tanto plus *Maur.*

1. **quo motus oraculo** ,etc.: Ambr. De Spir. Sanct. 1, prol. 2-3.

23. **nunc nobis,** etc.: Cypr. De Habitu Virg. 3. This, as well as the example cited from Ambrose in illustration of the middle style, is distinguished by its figures of parallelism and especially by its homoioteleuton (clauses or phrases ending in similar sounds): cf. Norden 617-18.

being troubled when he heard through the oracle of God that though thousands of people would fail, still through one man God would save his people from the enemy, took a goat's kid, and in accordance with the instruction of the angel, placed the flesh thereof with unleavened bread upon a rock, and sprinkled them with broth; and as soon as the angel of God touched them with the tip of the rod which he carried, a flame burst forth from the rock, and thus was consumed the sacrifice which was offered. By this sign it seems to be indicated that the rock was a type of Christ, for it is written: *They drank of the rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ.* This of course refers not to His Divinity, but to His Flesh which waters the hearts of His thirsting people with the ever-flowing tide of His Blood. It was therefore declared mystically that the Lord Jesus in His Flesh would be crucified and would wash away the sins of the whole world, and not only the sinful deeds, but also the evil desires of their hearts. For the flesh of the kid refers to sinful deeds; the broth to the allurements of the passions, as it is written: *For the people gave way to the worst passions, saying: 'Who will feed us with flesh?'* And so the angel stretching forth his rod and touching the rock from which a flame came forth, signified that the Flesh of the Lord, filled with the Holy Spirit, would burn away all the sins of man's condition. And so it is that the Lord says: *I am come to cast fire on the earth,*" and so on, wherein he particularly devotes himself to setting forth and proving the matter.

47. The well-known encomium of virginity in Cyprian is an example of the moderate style: "Now our discourse directs itself to the virgins, who as their honor is higher, are therefore our greater care. They are the flower of the tree of the Church, the beauty and ornament of spiritual grace, its bright natural virtue: of its praise and honor, a work pure and untarnished, the image of God, answering to the sanctity of the Lord, the brighter portion of the flock of Christ. The glorious fruitfulness of their Mother the Church rejoices through them, and in them richly flowers; and in proportion as glorious virginity adds to her numbers, in so much does the Mother's joy increase." And in another place, at the end of the letter, he says: "*As we have borne the image of the earthly, let us*

1 Cor. 15, 49 *dium matris augescit.* et in alio loco in fine epistolae, '*quomodo portauimus* inquit *imaginem eius qui de limo est, sic portemus et imaginem eius qui de caelo est.' hanc imaginem uirginitas portat, portat integritas, sanctitas portat et ueritas, portant disciplinae Dei memores, iustitiam cum religione retinentes, stabiles in fide, humiles in timore, ad omnem tolerantiam fortes, ad sustinendas iniurias mites, ad faciendam misericordiam faciles, fraterna pace unanimes atque concordes. quae uos singula, o bonae uirgines, obseruare, diligere, implere debetis, quae Deo et Christo uacantes, ad Dominum cui uos dicastis, maiore et meliore parte praeceditis. prouectae annis, iunioribus facite magisterium; minores natu, praebete maioribus ministerium, comparibus incitamentum. hortamentis uos mutuis excitate; aemulis de uirtute documentis ad gloriam prouocate. durate fortiter, spiritualiter pergite, peruenite feliciter, tantum mementote tunc nostri, cum incipiet in uobis uirginitas honorari.*

48. Ambrosius etiam genere dicendi temperato et ornato professis uirginibus proponit, tamquam sub exempli forma, quod moribus imitentur, et dicit: *uirgo erat, non solum corpore, sed etiam mente, quae nullo doli ambitu sincerum adulteraret affectum; corde humilis, uerbis grauis, animi prudens, loquendi parcior, legendi studiosior; non in incerto diuitiarum, sed in prece pauperis spem reponens; intenta operi, uerecunda sermoni; arbitrum mentis solita non hominem, sed Deum quaerere; nullum laedere, bene uelle omnibus; assurgere maioribus natu, aequalibus non inuidere; fugere iactantiam, rationem sequi, amare uirtutem. quando ista uel uultu laesit parentes? quando dissensit a propinquis? quando fastidiuit humilem? quando risit debilem? quando uitauit inopem? eos solos solita coetus uirorum inuisere, quos misericordia non erubesceret,*

2 est *om. E.* sic *om. EI Cyp. (C. S. E. L.) Ver.An. Vulg.* et *om. BCDH.* 3 uirginitas *om. I*; uirginitatis *D.* uirginitas portat *om. E.* 5 iustitiam Dei *E.* religionem *I.* retinentes et *A.* 6 omnem tolerantiam]omnes tolerantias *EI.* ad sustinendam iniuriam *Cyp. (C. S. E. L.).* 7 ad misericordiam faciendam *A.* faciles et *A.* 8 uos *om. E.* singulae *ABDEFGI.* o *om. ABF.* 9 uocantes *F.* 10 dicastis et *Cyp. (C. S. E. L.).* praecedatis *C.* 11 iunioribus] minoribus *E.* 12 paribus *EI.* ornamentis *EI.* uos *om. E.* 13 prouocatae *G.* 15 nobis *E.* uirginitas *om. E.* 20 ambitus *BF.* 22 pauperum *Ambr.-Mig.* 23 sermonibus *A*; sermone *CE. Ambr.-Mig.* solita *om. MSS; non tamen Maur. et Ambr.-Mig.* 24 hominum *F.* nullum laedere]nulli laedere os *AD*; nullum laedere os *BF.* 25 natis *E.* aequalibus]et qualibus *H.* 26 uirtutes *D.* 27 dissens sit *B.* 29 solita]sollicita *MSS; non tamen Maur. et Ambr.-Mig.* uirorum coetus *E.*

1. **quomodo,** etc.: *id. ib.* 23-24.

17. **professis** = 'having made religious profession', belongs to Eccl. Latin.

bear also the image of the heavenly. This image does virginity bear, righteousness bears it, holiness bears it, and truth; they bear it who are mindful of God's law, who observe justice with the fear of God, who are firm in faith, humble in fear, strong in every suffering, meek in sustaining injuries, ready to grant mercy, of one mind and heart in brotherly concord. And each one of these things, O holy virgins, ought you to keep, to love, to fulfil, for you with hearts free for God and for Christ, lead the way through your greater and better part, to the Lord to whom you have dedicated yourselves. You who are advanced in years, be the teachers of the younger; you who are younger, minister to the older, and be an inspiration to those of your own age; urge on one another by mutual encouragement; rouse one another to glory by rivaling each other in acts of virtue; endure valiantly, proceed in the spiritual life, attain your goal gloriously; only, be mindful of us then when your virginity will begin to be in honor."

48. Ambrose also uses the moderate, adorned style of speech when, as though in illustration, he holds up to virgins who have made their profession a model for their imitation. He says: "She was a virgin, not only in appearance, but in heart, who sullied not upright sentiments with any leanings toward deceit; humble of heart, dignified in speech, prudent in spirit, sparing of words, devoted to study, placing her hope not in the uncertainty of riches, but in the prayers of the poor, attentive to duty, respectful to discourse; one wont to seek God, not man, as the guide of her judgment; harming no one, but wishing well to all; rising to her elders, not envying her equals; avoiding boastfulness, following reason, loving virtue. When did she wound her parents even by a look? When did she disagree with her relatives? When did she condemn the humble? When did she mock the weak? When did she shun the needy? She was wont to go only into those gatherings of men which charity would not be shamed by, and which modesty would

18. **sub . . . forma:** *sub* with the ablative to express condition or circumstance is cited in prose first for Livy: cf. St.-Schm. 539; K.-Steg. II, 1, 570-71. T. L. L. for the phrase *sub forma* cites only Test. Optati (Corp. II, 4514) 35: cf. T. L. L. VI, 1076, 26-27.

19. **uirgo erat, etc.:** Ambr. De Virg. 2, 1, 7-8.

neque praeteriret uerecundia. nihil toruum in oculis, nihil in uerbis procax, nihil in actu inuerecundum; non gestus fractior, non incessus solutior, non uox petulantior, ut ipsa corporis species simulacrum fuerit mentis, et figura probitatis. bona quippe domus in ipso uestibulo debet agnosci, ac primo praetendat ingressu nihil intus latere tenebrarum, tamquam lucernae lux intus posita, foris luceat. quid ego exsequar ciborum parsimoniam, officiorum redundantiam; alterum ultra naturam superfuisse, alterum paene ipsi naturae defuisse? illic nulla intermissa tempora, hic congeminati ieiunio dies; et si quando reficiendi successisset uoluntas, cibus plerumque obuius qui mortem arceret, non delicias ministraret. haec autem propterea in exemplo huius temperati generis posui, quia non hic agit ut uirginitatem uoueant quae nondum uouerunt, sed quales esse debeant quae iam uotae sunt. nam ut aggrediatur animus tantum ac tale propositum, grandi utique dicendi genere debet excitari et accendi. sed martyr Cyprianus de habitu uirginum, non de suscipiendo uirginitatis proposito scripsit. iste uero episcopus etiam ad hoc eas magno accendit eloquio.

49. Verum ex eo quod ambo egerunt, dictionis grandis exempla memorabo. ambo quippe inuecti sunt in eas quae formam pigmentis colorant, uel potius decolorant; quorum prior ille cum hoc ageret, ait inter caetera: *si quis pingendi artifex uultum alicuius et speciem et corporis qualitatem aemulo colore signasset, et signato iam consummatoque simulacro manus alius inferret, ut iam formata, iam picta, quasi peritior reformaret, grauis prioris arti-*

4 fuerit]fieret *E.* 5 praetentat *AF.* 7 ego]ergo *BCD.* 8 fuisse *C.* alterum ipsi naturae pene *EI Maur.*; ipsi *om. D.* 9 nulla fuisse *H.* intermissa uel praemissa (*supra alia m.*) *H.* tempora intermissa *E.* congeminat *A*; congeminatus *E*; congeminatos *Ambr.-Mig.* 11 plerumque sumebatur *E.* obuius]ob huius *D*; obuios *F.* 12 propterea *om. E.* 13 uirginem *F.* moueant *E.* nondum uouerunt]non nouerunt *E.* 14 aggrediatur]hac grediatur *D.* 17 scribit *I.* 18 ad hoc etiam *EI.* 20 pigmento *A.* 21 quorum *om. A.* 24 ut *om. Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). 25 peritior *del. E.*

14. **uotae sunt** = 'consecrated themselves': the passive here has a middle sense: an Eccl. usage.

16. **debet excitari et accendi:** Augustine's discrimination between the temperate and grand style by examples drawn from a common subject, made different by different circumstances, shows the teacher's instinct for clearness and force.

debet: *debere* was used by the poets as a synonym of *necesse esse.* This became frequent in Late Latin: cf. Goel. (1) 418; K.-Schm. s. v.; Georges s. v. Note this below in 24, 54, where the analogy has been carried so far as to cause the use of an impersonal *debet:* debet granditer dici. While impersonal *debet* already occurs in Cicero, it is confined in most part to Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 622; T. L. L. V, 102, 43-59.

18. **ad hoc . . . accendit:** *accendo* with *ad* is cited for Cic. Tusc. 1, 4; Sall. Jug. 31, 16, and for Silver writers: cf. T. L. L. I, 276, 48-75.

not permit her to pass by. There was nothing sharp in her glance, nothing bold in her words, nothing unseemly in her conduct; her bearing was not sensuous, nor her gait too free, nor her voice petulant, so that her outward appearance was an image of her soul, and was a picture of purity. For a fine house ought to be recognized as such at its very vestibule, and ought at the first step inside to show that no darkness lurks within, as though the light from the lamp inside were illuminating the parts without. What need to mention her abstemiousness in food, her superabundance in duties—the one exceeding the powers of nature, the other almost falling below nature's needs; in the one case, no intermissions in time; in the other, the days doubled for fasting! But when the want of refection did arise, it was answered generally with such food as would prevent starvation, not with such as would afford pleasure." This passage I have chosen to illustrate the temperate style for this reason, that here the author does not urge those who have not yet consecrated themselves to virginity to do so, but treats of what the character of those should be who have thus consecrated themselves. For, that the heart be led to make so important and so serious a decision, it must certainly be aroused and set on fire by the grand style of oratory. Cyprian, the martyr, has written on the dress of virgins, not on embracing the profession of virginity. And still this bishop inflames women even as to this, with great eloquence.

49. But I shall draw illustrations of the grand style from a subject which both have treated. For both have inveighed against those women who color, or rather discolor their faces with paint. The first, in his condemnation of this, says among other things: "If some artist had painted the features, form, and outward appearance of a certain person in colors rivaling nature's, and when the picture had been painted and finished, another hand, as if being more skilled, should set about doing over what had already been conceived and painted, the insult to the first artist would seem to be a serious one, and his indignation just. And you, do you think

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21. **decolorant:** mostly Poetic, Sil- er, and Late: cf. T. L. L. V, 199, 1-200.

22. **inter caetera:** this phrase is ited first for Livy 3, 10, 7, and then with increasing frequency for Silver and Late Latin: cf. T. L. L. III, 968, 32-42.

si quis pingendi, etc.: Cypr. De Habitu Virg. 15.

ficis iniuria et iusta indignatio uideretur. 'tu te existimas impune laturam tam improbae temeritatis audacium, Dei artificis offensam? ut enim impudica circa homines, et incesta fucis lenocinantibus non sis, corruptis uiolatisque quae Dei sunt, peior adultera detineris. quod ornari te putas, quod putas comi, impugnatio est ista diuini
1 Cor. 5, 7-8 *operis, praeuaricatio est ueritatis. monentis apostoli uox est: 'expurgate uetus fermentum, ut sitis noua conspersio, sicut estis azymi: nam pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. itaque festa celebremus non in fermento ueteri neque in fermento malitiae et nequitiae sed in azymis sinceritatis et ueritatis.' num sinceritas perseuerat et ueritas, quando quae sincera sunt polluuntur, et colorum adulteriis et medicaminum fucis in mendacium uera mutan-*
Matt. 5, 36 *tur? Dominus tuus dicit, 'non potes facere capillum unum album aut nigrum,' et tu ad uincendam Domini tui uocem uis te esse potiorem. audaci conatu et sacrilego contemptu crines tuos inficis; malo praesagio futurorum capillos iam tibi flammeos auspicaris.* longum est inserere omnia quae sequuntur.

50. Ille uero posterior ut in tales diceret, *hinc illa* inquit *nascuntur incentiua uitiorum, ut quaesitis coloribus ora depingant, dum uiris displicere formidant, et de adulterio uultus meditentur adulterium castitatis. quanta hic amentia, effigiem mutare naturae, picturam quaerere, et dum uerentur maritale iudicium, prodere suum? prior enim de se pronuntiat, quae cupit mutare quod nata est; ita dum alii studet placere, prius ipsa sibi displicet. quem iudicem, mulier, ueriorem requirimus deformitatis tuae, quam teipsam, quae uideri times? si pulchra es, quid absconderis? si deformis, cur te formosam esse mentiris, nec tuae conscientiae, nec alieni gratiam erroris habitura? ille enim alteram diligit, tu alteri uis placere; et irasceris si amet alteram, qui adulterare in te docetur. mala magistra es iniuriae tuae. lenocinari enim refugit, etiam quae est passa lenonem, ac licet uilis mulier, non alteri tamen, sed sib peccat. tolerabiliora propemodum in adulterio crimina sunt; ib*

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2 latura *D.* tām *om. B.* 3 enim *om. Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). fuscis *E.* 4 retineris *DF* 5 ornare *CH.* putas (comi) *om. BD.* comi impugnatio]comum pugnatio *F.* est *om. E* ista *om. I.* 7 consparsio *DFG Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). 8 nam]etenim *Maur. Ver.An. Vulg.*; et *add Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*). 9 celebremus festa *H.* et]uel *E.* 10 et nequitiae *om. I.* num]nam *DEF.* non *add. supra* sinceritas *alia m. F.* 11 quae]-que *E.* et *om. Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.* color *E.* 12 adulterinis *BCDEFGHI*; *non tamen Maur. et Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*); (et cotorum adulterinis medicaminum *editi et MSS* [*Maur.*]), et *om. MSS et Cyp.* (*C. S. E. L.*), in mendacium *om. I.* 13 unum *om. A*; unum capillum *E Ver.An. Vulg.* 15 tuas *F.* 18 ut in tale diceret *om. E.* hinc inquit illa nascuntur *H.* 20 meditantur *BH Ambr.-Mig.* 21 haec *Mau* naturae mutare *E.* 22 uenerentur *D.* perdere *ADF*; perdidere *BCG* (*quidam MSS* [*Ambr. Mig.*]); prodidere *H*; prodicerunt *E*; perdiderunt *I.* 23 quae]qui *D.* 24 aliis *B Ambr.-Mi* 25 meliorem *D.* requiremus *Maur.* 27 te *om. E.* 28 diligit tu alterum diligis *E.* 29 alia

that you can carry through such shameless and daring insolence, an offence against God, the great Artist, without being punished? For although toward man you are not unchaste, nor are you corrupted in heart through your meretricious adornments, yet in spoiling and violating what is God's, you are a worse adulteress. That you consider yourself adorned and beautified, this is an insult to the divine work, a violation of truth. The Apostle's word of admonition is: *Purge out the old leaven that you may be a new paste, as you are unleavened. For Christ our Pasch is sacrificed. Therefore let us feast, not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wrongdoing; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.* But can sincerity and truth remain when what is sincere is polluted, and when what is true is turned into a lie by immodest coloring and deceitful cosmetics? Your Lord says: *Thou canst not make one hair white or black,* and do you wish to be more powerful, so as to set at naught the words of your Lord? With insolent daring and sacrilegious contempt, do you dye your hair; with evil presage of the future, do you make your locks flame-colored." It would take long to quote all that follows.

50. And the later writer, speaking against such women, says: "Hence arise those allurements to sin, that they seek color with which to paint their cheeks, fearing to lose the good opinion of men; and from adultery of their faces, they consider adultery of their chastity. What folly is this to change the appearance of nature, and to seek merely for its likeness, and while fearing a husband's disapproval, to betray one's own! For that woman is the first to pronounce against herself who wishes to change what nature has made; and so, while she studies to make herself pleasing to another, she is already not pleasing to herself. What truer judge shall we ask, oh woman, of your want of beauty, than yourself, since you fear to be seen? If you are beautiful, why do you hide it? If ugly, why do you pretend to be beautiful, enjoying neither peace in your own conscience, nor satisfaction in misleading others? For he loves another; you wish to please another; and you are angry if he loves another, being taught adultery by you. You are the evil teacher of your own wrong. For a woman who has been the victim of the panderer, still herself refuses to pander, and bad

BDEFI Ambr.-Mig. qui]quia *E*; quae *H*. docere *G*. 30 male *ABCDFGHI*. enim *om. ABDEFHI*. 30 refugit enim *CG*; refugi *D*. etiam *om. CEG*. 31 est ipsa *H*; quae passa est *Ambr.-Mig.* 32 adulterio]altero *Ambr.-Mig.*

18. **hinc iila, etc.: Ambr. De Virg. 1, 6, 28.**

enim pudicitia, hic natura adulteratur. satis ut existimo, apparet feminas ne suam fucis adulterent formam et, ad pudorem et ad timorem hac facundia uehementer impelli. proinde neque submissum neque temperatum, sed grande omnino genus hoc elocutionis agnoscimus. et in his autem quos duos ex omnibus proponere uolui, et in aliis ecclesiasticis uiris et bona, et bene—id est sicut res postulat—acute, ornate, ardenterque dicentibus, per multa eorum scripta uel dicta possunt haec tria genera reperiri, et assidua lectione uel auditione, admixta etiam exercitatione, studentibus inolescere.

22, 51. Nec quisquam praeter disciplinam esse existimet ista miscere; immo quantum congrue fieri potest, omnibus generibus dictio uarianda est. nam quando prolixa est in uno genere, minus detinet auditorem. cum uero fit in aliud ab alio transitus, etiamsi longius eat, decentius procedit oratio; quamuis habeant et singula genera uarietates suas in sermone eloquentiam, quibus non sinuntur in eorum qui audiunt, frigescere uel tepescere sensibus. uerumtamen facilius submissum solum, quam solum grande diutius tolerari potest. commotio quippe animi quanto magis excitanda est, ut nobis assentiatur auditor, tanto minus in ea diu teneri potest, cum fuerit quantum satis est excitata. et ideo cauendum est, ne dum

1 adulterat *B*. 2 ne fucis suam *H*. formas *A*. 4 hic *C*. locutionis *E*. 5 et in his]ex his *CI*; ex hiis *E*. 6 et (bona) *om. A*. 7 ornate acute ardenterque *A*. 8 uel]et *F*. genera *om. E*. 9 uel auditione *om. AD*. 11 nec]haec *E*. esse *om. E*. ista]ita *Mig*. 12 potest de *BF*. 13 (uarianda) est *om. A*. 14 longus *I*. 15 detentius *B*. 17 audiant *D*; qui audiunt *om. E*. 18 diutius *om. E*; diutius]huius *C*. 21 quanto *I*.

2. **fucis** = 'coloring for the face or hair', is mostly Poetic and Eccl.: cf. T. L. L. VI, 1461, 62-73.

9. **inolescere** = 'to be fixed in mind': Late.

22. *Variation in the use of the styles.*

11. **nec . . . uarianda est:** cf. Auct. ad Her. 4, 11, 16: sed figuram in dicendo commutare oportet, ut grauem mediocris, mediocrem excipiat attenuata, deinde identidem commutentur, ut facile satietas uarietate uitetur. Orat. 29, 103: at haec [genera] interdum temperanda et uarianda sunt. Quint. 12, 10, 71: dicet idem grauiter, seuere, acriter, uehementer, concitate, copiose, amare, comiter, remisse, subtiliter, blande, leniter, dulciter, breuiter, urbane; non ubique similis sed ubique par sibi.

12. **congrue:** Early and Late Latin for *congruenter:* cf. T. L. L. III, 305, 1-30.

13. **prolixa** = 'long drawn out': Late: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

14. **transitus** = 'change': mostly Poetic and Silver: cf. Benoist-Goelz. and Georges s. v.

15. **quamuis habeant . . . eloquentium:** cf. Quint. 12, 10, 67: ac sic prope innumerabiles species reperiuntur, quae utique aliquo momento inter se differant: sicut quattuor uentos generaliter a totidem mundi cardinibus accepimus flare, cum interim plurimi medii et eorum uaria nomina quidem etiam regionum ac

woman as she is, still she sins not so much against another as against herself. The sin of adultery is almost more tolerable than yours, for in the first instance modesty is corrupted; in the second, nature." It is certainly clear, I think, that here women are eloqently and passionately dissuaded from spoiling their faces by paint, and are urged to modesty and fear of self. We recognize, therefore, not the subdued style of oratory here, but the grand style throughout. But in these two authors whom out of many I have chosen in illustration, and in the other ecclestiastical writers who speak on worthy subjects, and in a worthy way, that is, as the matter demands, to the point, eloquently, and passionately, these three styles can be found scattered through their many writings and treatises, and can, through abundant reading and hearing, with the addition of practice, become engrafted in students' minds.

22, 51. No one should suppose that it is against the rule to mingle these three styles. On the contrary, as far as it can properly be done, one should vary his diction by using all three. For when a speech is surfeited with one style, it does not keep the listener's attention. But when a change is made from one to another, even if the discourse is stretched out to some length, it proceeds in a more pleasing fashion; although each style, too, has variations of its own in the language of the eloquent, which do not allow the attention of the audience to grow languid or to cool off. However, we can more readily bear the subdued style alone for a longer

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fluminum proprii, deprehenduntur.

16. **quibus . . . sensibus:** cf. De Doctr. Chris. 2, 36, 54: et uarietas eius sine fastidio teneat intentos.

17. **uerumtamen . . . potest:** it is easier to maintain the level of the plain style than the heights of the grand; there is less danger of slipping and falling: cf. Orat. 28, 98: qui in illo subtili et acuto elaborauit, ut callide arguteque diceret, nec quicquam altius cogitaret, hoc uno perfecto magnus orator est, sed non maximus. *minimeque in lubrico uersabitur et, si semel constiterit, numquam cadit.*

19. **commotio . . . excitata:** cf. Orat. 28, 99: at uero hic noster, quem principem ponimus, grauis acer ardens, si ad hoc unum est natus aut in solo se exercuit aut huic generi studuit uni nec suam copiam cum illis duobus generibus temperauit, maxime est contemnendus. ille enim summissus, quod acute et ueratorie dicit, sapiens iam, medius suauis, hic autem copiosissimus, si nihil aliud est, uix satis sanus uideri solet.

21. **et ideo . . . perductum:** Cicero implies this in speaking of the middle style which he contrasts with the grand style in just this very point: cf. Orat. 28, 98: medius ille autem, quem modicum et temperatum uoco, si modo suum illud satis instruxerit, non extimescet ancipites dicendi incertosque casus; *etiam si quando minus succedet, ut saepe fit, magnum*

uolumus altius erigere quod erectum est, etiam inde decidat, quo fuerat excitatione perductum. interpositis uero quae sunt dicenda submissius, bene reditur ad ea quae opus est granditer dici, ut dictionis impetus sicut maris aestus alternet. ex quo fit ut grande dicendi genus, si diutius est dicendum, non debeat esse solum, sed aliorum generum interpositione uarietur. ei tamen generi dictio tota tribuitur, cuius copia praeualuerit.

23, 52. Interest enim quod genus cui generi interponatur, uel adhibeatur certis et necessariis locis. nam et in grandi genere semper aut pene semper temperata decet principia. et in potestate est eloquentis ut dicantur nonnulla submisse, etiam quae possent granditer dici, ut ea quae dicuntur granditer, ex illorum fiant comparatione grandiore, et eorum tamquam umbris luminosiora reddantur.

1 quo]quod *E.* 2 fuerit *D.* 3 est *om. E.* dici granditer *E.* 6 generum] genere *E.* tamen ei *H.* generi]genere *Maur.* dictionis *E.* 7 tota *om. I.* attribuitur *E.* praeualuerit]tribuitur *A.* 8 enim *om. E.* generi]genere *B.* 10 aut]ac *E.* decet]debent *E.* est *om. F.* 11 eloquentiae *E.* nonnullae *E.* 12 ut]inde *E.* granditer dicuntur *E.* fiant comparatione]comparatione fiunt *E.*

tamen periculum non adibit: alte enim cadere non potest.

et ideo: for *et ideo* as a conclusive particle, cf. 18, 37.

2. excitatione: Late.

interpositis . . . alternet: Augustine insists on the importance of this, also in Contr. Cresc. 1, 16, 20, in speaking of rhetoric and dialectic: siue autem sit dictor, siue disputator, nec dictio sine disputatione est cum et in ipsa eloquentiae latitudine ueritas a falsitate discernitur; nec disputatio potest esse sine dictione, quando utique uerbis et lingua ipsa constrictio sermonis exprimitur.

4. alternet: Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. K.-Schm. s.v.; T. L. L. I, 1753, 67–1754, 26.

ex quo fit . . . praeualuerit: Augustine brings out the necessity of rhetoric to dialectic, and *vice versa*, in De Dial. 7. The dialectician must, at times, borrow some of the graces of rhetoric if he sees the need of attracting his audience; the orator, on the other hand, must strengthen his cause by making dialectic the bones and sinews, as it were, of his persuasion: manifestum est et disputatorem, si qua ei delectandi cura est, rhetorico colore aspergendem; et oratorem, si ueritatem persuadere uult, dialecticis quasi neruis atque ossibus esse roborandum, quae ipsa natura corporibus nostris, nec firmitati uirium subtrahere potuit, nec oculorum offensioni patere permisit.

7. praeualuerit: mostly Silver Latin.

23. *How the styles are to be intermingled.*

8. interest . . . locus: the various purposes of a discourse, as differentiated in the offices, *docere, delectare, flectere*, are the criteria for the intermingling of the styles; the different kinds of speeches and the different parts of a speech are the means, in general, for determining the necessary *places* for each style: cf. Quint. 12, 10, 69: utetur enim, *ut res exiget*, omnibus, nec pro causa modo sed pro partibus causae, nam ut non eodem modo pro reo capitis et in certamine hereditatis et de interdictis ac sponsionibus et de certa credita dicet, sententiarum quoque in senatu et contionum et priuatorum consiliorum seruabit discrimina, multa ex differentia personarum, locorum temporumque mutabit: ita in eadem oratione aliter conciliabit, non ex iisdem

time, than the grand style alone. For the higher the pitch to which the feelings are to be excited in order to gain the assent of the audience, the shorter the time that this can be maintained once they have been sufficiently excited. And so we must take care lest desiring to lift higher what is already lifted high, there be rather a fall from the pitch of excitement already attained. But by interspersing matter which requires rather the subdued style, a pleasing return can then be made to the subject calling for grand expression, so that the flow of diction comes and goes like the tides of the sea. Hence it is that the grand style of diction, if it has to be continued for some time, must not be used alone, but must be varied by the interspersion of the other styles. The whole discourse, however, is attributed in kind to the style which predominates.

23, 52. It is, therefore, a matter of importance to know what style should be interspersed with what other style, and what kind should be used in definite, necessary places. For even in the grand style, properly the introduction should always, or nearly always be moderate. And the orator has the right in some places to speak in the subdued style, even when the grand style could have been used, so that what he expresses in the grand style may by com-

haustibus iram et misericordiam petet, alias ad docendum alias ad mouendum adhibebit artes. Cicero in summing up the various parts of an oration, applies to each the manner of presentation it requires, and thus implies the proper use and intermingling of the styles: cf. Orat. 35, 122: tractatio igitur rerum efficit admirabilem orationem; nam ipsae quidem res in perfacili cognitione uersantur. quid enim iam sequitur, quod quidem artis sit, nisi ordiri orationem, in quo aut concilietur auditor aut erigatur aut paret se ad discendum; rem breuiter exponere et probaliter et aperte, ut quid agatur intellegi possit; sua confirmare, aduersaria euertere, eaque efficere non perturbate, sed singulis argumentationibus ita concludendis, ut efficiatur quod sit consequens iis quae sumentur ad quamque rem confirmandam; post omnia perorationem inflammantem restinguentemue concludere?

9. **nam et . . . principia:** cf. Orat. 36, 124: principia uerecunda, nondum elatis incensa uerbis, sed acuta sententiis uel ad offensionem aduersarii uel ad commendationem sui.

10. **et in potestate . . . reddantur:** though certain places call for the grand style, there is no violation of principle to use a lesser style in part, in order by contrast to enhance the grand style when used.

in potestate est . . . ut: uncommon but classical: cf. Cic. Ad Fam. 13, 39: est in tua potestate, ut ille . . . putet: cf. K.-Steg. II, 2, 245.

12. **ex comparatione:** this phrase is cited first for Cic. Part. Orat. 19, 66: quaeritur . . . ex comparatione quid utile, quid aequum: cf. T. L. L. III, 2006, 41 ff.

in quocumque autem genere aliqua quaestionum uincula soluenda sunt, acumine opus est. quod sibi submissum genus proprie uindicat. ac per hoc eo genere utendum est et in aliis duobus generibus, quando eis ista incidunt, sicut laudandum aliquid uel uituperandum, ubi nec damnatio cuiusquam nec liberatio, nec ad actionem quamlibet assensio requiritur, in quocumque alio genere occurrerit, genus adhibendum et interponendum est temperatum. in grandi ergo genere inueniunt locos suos duo caetera, et in submisso similiter. temperatum autem genus non quidem semper, sed tamen aliquando submisso indiget, si, ut dixi, quaestio cuius nodus est soluendus, incurrat, uel quando nonnulla quae ornari possent, ideo non ornantur, sed submisso sermone dicuntur, ut quibusdam quasi toris ornamentorum praebeant eminentiorem locum. grande

1 uincla *BF*. 2 propriae *DFG*. 3 generibus *om. A*. 4 ista]ita *C*. 5 ad *om. A*. 7 occurit *DH*. adhibendum genus *E*. 9 non quidem]in quid est *D*. 10 si ut dixi]sicut dixi *ABF*; sicut dixi si *DE*. nodus *in marg. alia m. F*. 11 est *om. F*. somuendus est *EI*. occurrat *D*. possunt *A*. 13 toribus *sic em. alia m. AB*; choris *E*.

1. **in quocumque . . . uindicat:** another identification of the plain style and dialectic. To Cicero, *uincula quaestionum* would mean the *confirmatio* and *confutatio* of a speech. These parts, as well as the *narratio*, he assigns to the plain style: cf. Orat. 36, 124 ff.: narrationes credibiles nec historico sed prope cotidiano sermone explicatae dilucide. dein si tenuis causa est, tum etiam argumentandi tenue filum et in docendo et in referendo, idque ita tenebitur, ut quanta ad rem tanta ad orationem fiat accensio.

quaestionum uincula: genitive, in place of a noun and adjective, for emphasis and stylistic effect. Even outside of figurative expressions, as here, this usage is increasingly common in Late Latin, especially with abstract nouns of dependence: cf. St.-Schm. 395, 823; Gabarrou 185-86; McGuire 30-31. See this below in 25, 55 (bona morum).

4. **sicut laudandum . . . temperatum:** as the plain style accomplishes the *officium* of *docere*, and is used particularly in judicial oratory (considering classical *genus;* dialectic, considering Augustine's conception of kind of speech), and in the *narratio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio* (considering parts of a speech), so the moderate style accomplishes the *officium* of *delectare*, and is used particularly in deliberative oratory (considering classical *genus;* panegyric in Augustine's conception), and in the *exordium* (aiming to make the audience *attentos, dociles, beneuolos*) and *rationis confirmatio*, or elaboration of the proof (considering parts of a speech).

laudandum aliquid uel uituperandum: the attributive use of the gerundive is relatively restricted before the Silver and Late writers. The attributive use of *laudandus*, however, is classical, and the use of *uituperandus* is modelled closely also on the Ciceronian *contemnendus:* cf. St.-Schm. 595.

5. **damnatio cuiusquam . . . liberatio** would demand the grand style.

8. **in grandi . . . similiter:** in a speech preponderatingly grand, the plain style has place (1) where *docere* is the object, *i. e.* clearly to define a position, or to prove or refute an argument. (2) in more elevated thought, in order to enhance the grand by contrast. In a speech outstandingly grand, the moderate style has

parison become even grander, and as it were, through the shadows of the other appear even more luminous. But whatever the style, if some knotty question demands solution, acumen is called for, and this the subdued style claims as its own. And for this reason, this style must be used even in the other two, when such questions arise in them; just as when something requires praise or censure, and it is not the question of the condemnation or the acquittal of anyone, nor of a person's assent to some course of action, no matter what the kind of style used when this occurs, the moderate style must then be taken up and interposed. And so in the grand style and in the subdued also, the other two find place. The temperate style, on the other hand, not indeed always, but still sometimes requires the subdued style if, as I have said, some question occurs whose difficulty demands solution, or when something which could be embellished is not embellished, but expressed in subdued language that it may furnish a more conspicuous place for certain

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place (1) where *delectare* is the aim, *i. e.* to conciliate the audience in the *principium*, and to please in the amplification of the proof, (2) in oratory leaning to the panegyric, where violence of feeling is not called into play. Considering, on the other hand, a speech preponderatingly plain, or dialectical, the moderate style has place where the circumstances just mentioned are evident, and the grand style has place where, as Augustine will emphasize below, the audience needs to be persuaded, by the moving of their emotions, to do that which, through reasoning, they realize is right. Cicero expresses this last relation in the conclusion to the quotation given above (in note: *in quocumque . . uindicat*) where he speaks of the styles in their connection with the various parts of a speech (Orat. 36, 125): cum uero causa ea inciderit, in qua uis eloquentiae possit expromi, tum se latius fundet orator, tum reget et flectet animos et sic afficiet, ut uolet, id est, ut causa et ratio temporis postulabit.

9. temperatum . . . requirit: there is a difference in regard to the temperate style. It, at times, uses the plain style, when the circumstances are such as explained above, where the plain was found necessary to the *genus grande*. But it has no need of the grand style, from the very nature of its purpose, *delectare*, which does not seek to rise to *flectere*, as *docere* often does, but is rather an aim in itself. Augustine, though he maintains the threefold division traditional and popular in Roman rhetoric, still often recognizes, as here, that style is fundamentally twofold, as the Peripatetics conceived it, *λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα* and *λόγος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους*, and that the grand and the temperate styles are connected in being merely phases of the latter.

10. submisso indiget: for *indigeo* with the abl. cf. 3, 5.

13. toris ornamentorum: Augustine borrows his figure from Cicero. A *torus* was a raised ornament, a knot on a garland: cf. Orat. 6, 21: isque [modus mediocris] uno tenore . . . fluit . . . aut addit aliquos *ut in corona toros* omnemque orationem ornamentis modicis uerborum sententiarumque distinguit.

ornamentorum: a so-called genitive of identity, which belongs almost entirely to Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 395.

autem genus temperata dictio non requirit; ad delectandos quippe animos, non ad mouendos ipsa suscipitur.

24, 53. Non sane si dicenti crebrius et uehementius acclametur, ideo granditer putandus est dicere; hoc enim et acumina submissi generis et ornamenta faciunt temperati. grande autem genus plerumque pondere suo uoces premit, sed lacrimas exprimit. denique cum apud Caesaream Mauritaniae populo dissuaderem pugnam ciuilem,

1 autem]ergo *E.* dicta *E.* 3 dicenti]dicendi *CEF.* acclamatur *I.* 4 dicendi (dicere *supra alia m.*) *F.* 5 plerumque *om. E.* 6 suo pondere *E.* lacrimas *om. E.* 7 suaderem *F.*

1. **ad delectandos . . . suscipitur:** the purposes of the middle and the grand style remain distinct. That of the middle does not merge into that of the grand, as is often the case with the purposes of the plain and the grand. The reason, as given above, is clear. They do not deal separately with *res* and *modus quo*, but both with *modus quo*, though each in a different way, because of different ends.

24. *The effects wrought by the various styles.*

3. **non sane . . . exprimit:** the grand style appeals not merely to the mind; it touches the heart. Therefore, though the plain and the temperate styles may receive great applause, the grand style is heard rather in hushed silence, or with tears. Augustine must have frequently experienced this himself. He gives one example of it below, in the instance of the effect of his address at Caesarea. Another interesting one is found in Retract. 2, 51, where he describes the utter silence with which Emeritus, the Donatist bishop, heard the discourse delivered in answer to the charges he had brought against the church: ubi non inueniens quid responderet, totum sermonem meum quem de solis Maximianistis in auribus eius et omnium qui aderant explicaui tamquam mutus audiuit. Turning to the *De Gestis cum Emerito*, to examine the speech itself for evidence of its power, while one recognizes that the force of its dialectic must have had a strong effect in silencing Augustine's opponent, still it is evident that the moving eloquence of its final words, spoken in the unadorned grand style, could not but have helped powerfully not only to hold silent the Donatist bishop himself, but also to move to tears the Catholic bishops who were also present at the conference: cf. De Gest. Emer. 12: et tamen, fratres mei, non inuidemus concordiae ipsorum . . . sed hoc dico: si ramus fractus quaesiuit uirgultum a se fractum, qua diligentia debet arbor ipsa quaerere ramum ex se fractum? ideo sudamus, ideo laboramus, ideo inter eorum arma et cruentas furias Circumcellionum periclitati sumus, et adhuc qualiacumque donata a Deo patientia toleramus, dum arbor quaerit ramum, dum grex et ouili Christi ouem perditam quaerit. si pastoralibus uisceribus praediti sumus, per sepes et spinas non coarctare debemus. membris lacertis ouem quaeramus, et pastori principique omnium cum laetitia reportemus. multa diximus etiam fatigati, et tamen, frater noster, propter quem ista dicimus uobis, et cui pariter dicimus, et pro quo tanta agimus, adhuc pertinax constitit. constantem se putat fortitudo crudelis. non adhuc de uana et falsa fortitudine glorietur. audiat apostolum dicentem: *uirtus in infirmitate perficitur.* oremus pro illo. unde scimus quid uelit Deus? *multae cogitationes,* sicut scriptum est, *in corde uiri; consilium autem Domini manet in aeternum.*

bows, as it were, of embellishment. But moderate diction does not need the grand style, for it is used to please the mind, not to move it.

24, 53. If a speaker get frequent and loud applause, it should not on that account be imagined that he is talking in the grand style, for this is the effect of the acumen of the subdued style, and of the ornament of the temperate. But the grand style does generally silence all voices by its impressiveness, and calls forth tears. In fact, when at Caesarea in Mauritania, I was urging the people against civil strife or worse than civil strife, which they called

acclametur: *acclamare*, as also *acclamatio*, in classical Latin (especially in Cic.) expresses disapprobation. Not until Livy, Silver, and Late Latin does *acclamare* express approbation and applause: cf. K.-Schm. s.v.; T. L. L. I, 325, 80–326, 40. Note this later use also in 26, 56.

6. **cum apud Caesaream Mauritaniae:** the dating of this trip to Caesarea is of importance, since in connection with the statement made below (iam ferme octo uel amplius anni sunt, etc.), it serves to fix the date of the present book, *i.e.* 426 A.D. A trip to Caesarea is recorded by Augustine in the following places: (1) in letter 190, 1, 1, written to Optatus in 418 A.D., where Augustine says: quamuis tuae sanctitatis nullas ad me ipsum datas acceperim litteras; tamen quia illae quas ad Mauritaniam Caesariensem misisti, me apud Caesaream praesente uenerunt, quo nos iniuncta nobis a uenerabili papa Zosimo apostolicae sedis episcopo ecclesiastica necessitas traxerat; (2) in the Retractations 2, 51, which in giving the occasion of the *Gesta cum Emerito Donatista*, speak also of Augustine's having been urged by necessity to go to Caesarea: aliquanto post collationem quam cum haereticis Donatistis habuimus, orta est nobis necessitas pergendi in Mauritaniam Caesariensem. ibi apud ipsam Caesaream Emeritum Donatistarum episcopum uidimus, etc. The very opening words of the De Gest. cum Emer. fix definitely the date of the last mentioned journey: gloriosissimis imperatoribus, Honorio duodecim, et Theodosio octauum consulibus (*i. e.* 418 A.D.), duodecimo calendas octobris, Caesareae in ecclesia maiori, cum . . . adesset etiam Emeritus partis Donati episcopus, Augustinus episcopus ecclesiae catholicae dixit, etc. Possidius (14) connects these two events, *i. e.* A.'s visit to Caesarea due to letters from the Pope, and his speaking before Emeritus (Sept. 418 A.D.): tamen omnipotens Dei praestitit auxilium, ut postea in Caesariensi Mauritaniae ciuitate constitutus uenerabilis memoriae Augustinus, quo eum uenire cum aliis coepiscopis sedis apostolicae litterae compulerant, ob terminandas uidelicet alias ecclesiae necessitates: hoc ergo occasione prouenit, ut Emeritum eiusdem loci Donatistarum episcopum, quem suae sectae praecipuum in illa collatione habuerunt defensorem uideret . . . et prouocaret gestis ecclesiasticis, etc. It seems most probable, therefore, that this important trip, recorded so especially by Augustine and his biographer, is identical with the one mentioned in the present instance, since Augustine's mention of his trip here is as of something about which his readers are already informed. If this is so, it, too, should be dated September 418. The Benedictine editors also accept this view: cf. Aug. Epist. 193, n. 1; De Doctr. Chris. 4, 24, 53, n. 1. For a full and critical account of Augustine's meeting with Emeritus the Donatist, cf.

uel potius plus quam ciuilem, quam *cateruam* uocabant, neque enim ciues tantummodo, uerum etiam propinqui, fratres, postremo parentes ac filii lapidibus inter se in duas partes diuisi, per aliquot dies continuos, certo tempore anni solemniter dimicabant, et quisque ut quemque poterat occidebat, egi quidem granditer, quantum ualui, ut tam crudele atque inueteratum malum de cordibus et moribus eorum auellerem pelleremque dicendo; non tamen egisse aliquid me putaui, cum eos audirem acclamantes, sed cum flentes uiderem. acclamationibus quippe se doceri et delectari, flecti autem lacrimis indicabant. quas ubi aspexi, immanem illam consuetudinem a patribus et auis longeque a maioribus traditam. quae pectora eorum hostiliter obsidebat, uel potius possidebat, uictam, antequam re ipsa id ostenderent, credidi. moxque sermone finito ad agendas Deo gratias corda atque ora conuerti. et ecce iam ferme octo uel amplius anni sunt, propitio Christo, ex quo illic nihil tale tentatum est. sunt et alia multa experimenta quibus didicimus, homines, quid in eis fecerit sapientis granditas dictionis, non clamore potius quam gemitu, aliquando etiam lacrimis, postremo uitae mutatione monstrasse.

1 uel potius quam ciuilem *om. A.* enim *om. D.* 2 uerum]sed *E.* propinqui et *H.* 3 in *om. E.* 4 dies]tempus *E.* continuo *D.* 5 poterant *F.* occidebant *FG.* egi]ego *C*; eici *D*; ei *F.* 6 crudelem *A.* et]ac *E.* 8 me aliquid *BF.* 10 ubi]ut *E.* 12 obsidebant *B.* possidebat *om. G.* deuictam *C Maur.*; uitam *G.* 13 ostenderunt *E*; ostenderem *G.* credi *DF.* -que *om. E.* 14 atque]et *E.* et *om. A.* 15 uel eo *B.* 16 dicimus *DG*; discimus *H.*

Monceaux, P., Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne, VI, 145-89. Paris, 1922.

apud Caesaream: *apud* with proper names of places is found in Early Latin (comedy), Sall., Tac., Suet., and in Late writers: cf. St.-Schm. 499; T. L. L. II, 337, 61-79.

1. **cateruam:** Augustine refers to a very turbulent celebration held in honor of the god Mars, the festival of the October horse: cf. Wissowa, G.: Religion und Kultus der Römer, 2d ed., Munich, 1912, p. 145; also, Usener, H.: Kleine Schriften, IV, 435-37, Leipzig-Berlin, 1914.

4. **solemniter** = 'regularly', in Silver and Late Latin.

6. **de cordibus . . . auellerem:** *auellere* though used by Cicero, occurs mostly in Poetic, Silver, and Late Latin. Cicero seems to use *de* with this verb in the sense of 'out of', *ab* or *ex* as 'away from': cf. Font. 21, 46: aliquem de matris complexu auellere atque abstrahere; De Orat. 3, 5, 20: nullum est enim genus rerum, quod aut auulsum a ceteris per se ipsum constare; De Sen. 19, 71: poma ex arboribus, si cruda sunt, uix auelluntur. Augustine here uses *de* in the same sense as Cicero, but he does not observe the same distinction in De Ciu. Dei 18, 47: quibus Iudaeis auulsis de sedibus propriis et . . . toto orbe dispersis. *De* with *avellere* is rare until Late Latin, being used by Cic. (Font. 21, 46), Sil., Tert., Hier., Aug. In Late Latin *de* came to replace *ab* and *ex* in many of their uses: cf. T. L. L. II, 1305 ff.; V, 51, 82-83.

caterva—for not only fellow-citizens, but also relatives, brothers, even fathers and sons, setting themselves into two divisions, fought each other with stones for several days at a time regularly each year at a certain season, and each killed whomever he could—I pleaded indeed in the grand style to the best of my power, to root out and dispel by my words so cruel and inveterate an evil from their hearts and lives; still, it was not when I heard their applause, but when I saw their tears, that I felt I had gained something. For by their applause they showed that they understood and were pleased, but that they were won, they made evident by their tears. When I saw these, I knew, even before they proved it by the actual fact, that that barbarous custom, handed down from fathers, grandfathers, and far back from their ancestors, which had obsessed, or rather possessed their hearts in so savage a manner, was conquered. And directly my discourse was ended, I turned their hearts and lips to offering thanksgiving to God. And behold, it is now almost eight or more years since, through the grace of Christ, anything of that kind has been attempted there. And there are also many other experiences through which I have found out that men manifest the effect of the grandeur of grave eloquence not by shouting, but rather by groans, sometimes by tears, finally by change of life.

14. **ecce iam ferme octo . . . sunt:** fixing the date of A.'s visit to Caesarea as 418 A.D., as shown above, this statement serves to determine, at least approximately, the date of writing of the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana.* That this book was written some time later than the first three, Augustine himself states in Retract. 2, 4, 1: libros de doctr. chris., cum imperfectos comperissem, perficere malui quam eis relictis ad alia retractanda transire. . . . compleui ergo tertium, . . . addidi etiam nouissimum librum, et quattuor libris opus illud impleui. From internal evidence, the first three books are to be dated 397 A.D. Considering the words in this passage (iam ferme octo . . . anni), and their reference to the trip to Caesarea which occurred in 418 A.D., it is reasonably certain that the fourth book was written in 426.

16. **experimenta** = 'experiences', is used very seldom in Class. Latin, but is found in the Silver and Late period: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

17. **granditas dictionis:** for *granditas,* meaning 'sublimity', cf. 13, 29; for the use of the genitive phrase instead of noun and adj. (*dictio grandis*), cf. 23, 52.

non clamore . . . mutatione: the effect of the grand style, when successful, is the touching of the heart and the moving of the will, revealed immediately by the restraint of the audience rather than by a demonstration, and ultimately by conversion of life.

54. Submisso etiam dicendi genere sunt plerique mutati, sed ut quod nesciebant, scirent, aut quod eis uidebatur incredibile crederent, non autem ut agerent quod agendum iam nouerant, et agere nolebant. ad huius modi namque duritiam flectendam, debet granditer dici. nam et laudes et uituperationes quando eloquenter dicuntur, cum sint in genere temperato sic afficiunt quosdam, ut non solum in laudibus et uituperationibus eloquentia delectentur, uerum et ipsi laudabiliter appetant fugiantque uituperabiliter uiuere. sed numquid omnes qui delectantur, imitantur, sicut in grandi genere omnes qui flectuntur, agunt, et in submisso genere omnes qui docentur, sciunt aut credunt uerum esse quod nesciunt?

25, 55. Unde colligitur illa duo genera quod efficere intendunt, hoc eis esse maxime necessarium, qui sapienter et eloquenter uolunt dicere. illud uero quod agitur genere temperato, id est, ut eloquentia ipsa delectet, non est propter seipsum usurpandum, sed ut rebus quae utiliter honesteque dicuntur, si nec docente indigent eloquio nec mouente, quia et scientes et fauentes auditores habent,

1 etiam]itaque *E*. plerumque *DF*. 2 non sciebant *E*. eis *om. F*. 3 agere] geri *D*; agendum *E*. 4 uolebant *AE*. modi *om. I*. 5 laudes ac *BDGH*. 7 eloquentiae *EI*. 8 et *om. A*. 9 imitantur]mutantur *Maur*. 13 esse *om. E*. 15 est genere dictionum *FH*. ipsum *A*. 16 honeste utiliterque *CGH*. indiget *I*. 17 facientes *B*.

1. **submisso . . . nolebant:** the effect of the plain style is upon the mind, not upon the heart and will. It involves a mental change, not necessarily a moral one. Note the dialectical cast of A.'s thought, an illustrative explanation of his subject.

4. **debet . . . dici:** for impersonal *debet*, cf. 21, 48.

5. **nam et laudes,** etc.: the temperate style, aiming primarily to please, may however, through its aptness to praise or blame, influence its audience to change of life in accordance with this censure or praise. But unlike the other two styles, the middle style does not directly set out to effect change in its hearers, and does so only at times, not as a rule. Augustine's language here is also in imitation of the style under discussion. His use of the figure of derivation, paragmenon (laudibus: laudabiliter :: uituperationibus: uituperabiliter), accompanied by chiasmus (laudabiliter appetant fugiantque uituperabiliter) is more ornate and pleasing than the simpler figure of polyptoton used in the sentence above, explaining the plain style, since the latter implies only the more usual difference of mood and tense in the repetition of a word (agerent . . . agendum . . . agere), though this too is accompanied by paronomasia (nesciebant: scirent; incredibile: crederent), used however not to please the fancy, but to clarify the thought.

7. **uerum et:** *et* = *etiam*, is used by Cicero after *uerum*, *nam*, *simul*, and at times before substantives, in the sense of 'also'. Livy and later writers carry on and increase this usage: cf. St.-Schm. 661; K.-Steg. II, 2, 8-9.

8. **laudabiliter:** adverbs in *-iter* gained wide use in Late Latin. This formation is found, however, in Tusc. 5, 5, 12, in Val. Max. 5, 1, and in Gell. 7, 3. But uituperabiliter is Late.

fugiantque . . . uiuere: *fugere* with the infinitive is cited for Cicero,

54. But even by the subdued style many have been changed, but only to know what they were ignorant of, or to believe what seemed unbelievable to them, not, however, to do what they already knew they should do, and did not wish to do. For truly to bend stubbornness of this kind, the grand style is necessary. For even when praise and censure are expressed eloquently, though merely in the moderate style, some people are so affected that they are not only pleased by the eloquence with which the praise or censure are expressed, but they seek to live in a manner deserving praise, and they avoid living in one deserving censure. But who will claim that all who are pleased by a speech, model themselves on it, as all who are moved by the grand style act in accordance with it, and all who are instructed by the subdued style understand or believe the truth of which they are ignorant?

25, 55. From this we may conclude that the end which the two last named styles aim to bring about is very important to those who desire to speak with wisdom and eloquence. But the end in view in the moderate style, namely, to please by eloquence, is not in itself worthy of being used, except, through the very pleasing quality of the expression, to gain a somewhat more willing assent or a firmer hold for a matter which is useful and good but which

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but is mostly confined to Augustan poets and later writers: cf. St.-Schm. 581; T. L. L. VI, 1491, 64-77.

25. *The end for which the moderate style should be used.*

12. **unde colligitur,** etc.: all of Augustine's teaching in regard to the temperate style tends toward, and finds its conclusion in this chapter. He here differentiates definitely between Christian ideals and Sophistic, in regard to that all important tenet of sophistic teaching, 'art for art's sake'.

colligitur = 'it is concluded', is Silver and Late Latin. The accusative and infinitive with this verb is cited for Cels., Sen., Tac., Gell., Ulp., Mela, Apul., Hier.: cf. T. L. L. III, 1617, 75–1618, 23.

intendunt: *intendo* with the infinitive is first cited for Sallust and Livy.

14. **illud . . . assensus:** Augustine's expression of this fundamental truth of Christian oratory could not be clearer or more concise. He has been preparing for it in all he has taught above, especially in chapters 13 and 14, so that he can afford here to state his ground in the most succinct, decisive terms: 'Art for art's sake' has no place in Christian oratory; 'art for truth's sake' should have, and has. This can be illustrated from almost any of Augustines' own sermons. An interesting example is found in Serm. 52, 14. There, being assured that he has made his point as to *docere* in regard to the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, he concludes by a summary of the doctrine, but in order to gain a prompter and firmer hold on the audience (ut promptius . . . uel tenacius . . . adherescat assensus) he clothes his reasoning in an attractive style (delec-

aliquanto promptius ex delectatione ipsa elocutionis, accedat uel tenacius adherescat assensus. nam cum eloquentiae sit uniuersale officium, in quocumque istorum trium genere, dicere apte ad persuasionem; finis autem, id quod intenderis, persuadere dicendo: in quocumque istorum trium genere dicit quidem eloquens apte ad persuasionem, sed nisi persuadeat, ad finem non peruenit eloquentiae. persuadet autem in submisso genere uera esse quae dicit; persuadet in grandi, ut agantur quae agenda esse iam sciuntur nec aguntur; persuadet in genere temperato, pulchre ornateque se dicere: quo fine nobis quid opus est? appetant eum qui lingua gloriantur, et se in panegyricis talibusque dictionibus iactant, ubi nec docendus nec ad aliquid agendum mouendus, sed tantummodo est delectandus auditor. nos uero istum finem referamus ad alterum finem, ut scilicet quod efficere uolumus, cum granditer dicimus, hoc etiam isto uelimus, id est, ut bona morum diligantur, uel deuitentur mala, si ab hac actione non sic alieni sunt homines, ut ad eam grandi genere dictionis uideantur urgendi, aut, si iam id agunt, ut agant studiosius atque in eo firmiter perseuerent. ita fit ut etiam temperati generis ornatu, non iactanter, sed prudenter utamur, non eius fine contenti, quo tantummodo delectatur auditor, sed hoc potius agentes, ut etiam ipso ad bonum quod persuadere uolumus, adiuuetur.

1 ipsa elocutionis]ipsius locutionis *F.* 3 generum *Maur.* 5 generum *Maur.* eloquentes *A.* 6 suadent *F.* uenit *C.* 10 quid]quod *E.* qui in *A.* 11 iactent *ACDGI.* 12 ne *I.* ad *om. DEF.* 13 delectandus est *E.* fine *D.* 15 id]hoc *G.* 17 urgendi uideantur *Maur.* aut si iam]ut suam *A.* 18 ut *om. AE*; si *add. G.* ut agant *om. D.* studiose *E.* in eo]nec *C.* 19 ornatum *A*; ornamenta *C.* non *om. AD.* 20 contempti *AG.* 21 hic *E.* ut etiam *om. D.* ad bonum quod]ad bona quae *D.* 22 adiuuemur *EH.*

tare): exsoluimus quae promisimus: propositiones nostras firmissimis, ut arbitror, testimoniorum documentis probauimus. tenete quod audistis. breuiter replico, et rem utilissimam, quantum existimo, mentibus uestris collocandam commendo. Pater non est natus de uirgine: natiuitatem tamen istam Filii et Pater et Filius operatus est ex uirgine. Pater non est passus in cruce: passionem tamen Filii et Pater et Filius operatus est. non resurrexit Pater a mortuis: resurrectionem tamen Filii et Pater et Filius operatus est. habetis personarum distinctionem, et operationis inseparabilitatem. . . *haec quae diximus plana erant, tantum dicenda erant: non laborandum ut intellegerentur, sed curandum ut commemorarentur.*

1. **promptius:** the comparative is cited for Hirt., Tac., Cels., Juv., and Late Latin.

2. **tenacius:** both positive and comparative of this adverb are Late: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

nam cum . . . eloquentiae: Augustine has in mind the general classical teaching: cf. again the standard authorities quoted above in chapter 13: Arist. Rhet. 1, 1, 1354a; De Inuent. 1, 5, 6; De Orat. 1, 61, 260; *ibid.* 1, 31, 138; *ibid.* 1, 49, 213, etc. Since persuasion is the end of oratory, it is likewise the end of each and all of

does not require explanation or persuasive eloquence, since it already has its audience well-informed or favorably disposed. For since the function of all eloquence, no matter in which of these three styles, is to speak in a way adapted to persuasion, and the end, that is, what you aim at, is to persuade by speaking, so, in whatever of the three styles indeed an orator speaks in a manner adapted to persuasion, unless he does persuade, he does not attain the end of eloquence. For instance, in the subdued style he persuades his audience that what he says is true; he persuades them in the grand style, to do what they now know they ought to do, but are not doing; he persuades them in the moderate style that he is expressing himself in beautiful and elegant language. But of what use to us is this end? Let them aim at it who glory in fine language, and who show off in panegyrics and such like modes of speech, in which the aim is not to instruct the audience, nor to move them to some course of action, but merely to please them. But as for us, let us turn this end to another end; for instance, to aim to bring about, even by this style, what we aim to effect in a speech in the grand style, that is, to make good morals esteemed or evil morals avoided, if the audience are not so hostile to this course of action as to seem to need urging to it by the grand style, or if they are now following it, to make them follow it with greater zest and to persevere in it with constancy. Thus it is that we use even the ornament of the moderate style not ostentatiously, but wisely, not content with its own purpose, namely, merely to please the audience, but rather striving for this, to help them even thereby to the good toward which our persuasion aims.

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the styles; and unless one succeeds in persuading, he does not attain the end of oratory. A. wants to prove that the middle style also aims at persuasion—in its case, merely this: that it is persuading well—a wholly unlawful end, and therefore to be rejected, or rather turned into something useful and fitting, by the Christian orator.

uniuersale: Silver Latin.

10. **appetant . . . gloriantur**: the insinuation is unmistakable: let Sophists vaunt themselves in the middle style; the Christian orator must turn *delectatio* to a nobler end.

11. **panegyricis** = 'eulogies': Silver and Late Latin.

13. **nos . . . ad alterum finem**: A.'s conclusion: The ornament of the middle style is to be used as an aid to the other styles, and in order to insure the accomplishment of their ends.—Note how well Augustine recognizes this in practice, as for instance in the sermon quoted above. See also Norden 617.

19. **iactanter**: Late.

26, 56. Illa itaque tria, quae supra posuimus, eum qui sapienter dicit, si etiam eloquenter uult dicere, id agere debere, ut intellegenter, ut libenter, ut obedienter audiatur, non sic accipienda sunt tamquam singula illis tribus dicendi generibus ita tribuantur, ut ad submissum intellegenter, ad temperatum libenter, ad grande pertineat obedienter audiri; sed sic potius ut haec tria semper intendat, et quantum potest agat, etiam cum in illorum singulo quoque uersatur. nolumus enim fastidiri, etiam quod submisse dicimus, ac per hoc uolumus non solum intellegenter, uerum etiam libenter audiri. quid autem agimus diuinis testimoniis docendo quod dicimus, nisi ut obedienter audiamur, id est, ut credatur eis, Psal. 92, 5 opitulante illo cui dictum est, *testimonia tua credita facta sunt ualde*? quid etiam cupit nisi credi, qui aliquid, licet submisso eloquio, discentibus narrat? et quis eum uelit audire, nisi auditorem nonnulla etiam suauitate detineat? nam si non intellegatur, quis nesciat nec libenter eum posse, nec obedienter audiri? plerumque autem dictio ipsa submissa, dum soluit difficillimas quaestiones et inopinata manifestatione demonstrat; dum sententias acutissimas de nescio quibus quasi cauernis, unde non sperabatur, eruit et os-

1 eum]cum *B* (*sic em.*), *Mig.* qui]quis (*sic em.*) *B.* 3 audiantur *CD.* 4 ita]ista (*sic em.*) *B.* 6 obedienter pertineant *E.* audire *H.* 7 singulorum *DF.* 10 quod *H.* docendo testimoniis *G.* 11 audiamus *B*; audiatur *HI.* 12 credibilia *CEFGHI Ver.An. Vulg.* facta *om. E.* 13 cupit]quaerit *ABDFI* (*editi, non tamen MSS* [*Maur.*]). quid etiam nisi credi cupit *H.* aliquid]aliud *BCI.* 14 dicentibus *I.* et *om. CEGH.* quis etiam *E.* audire et *A.* 16 eum] cum *I.* 17 dum soluit]dissoluit *CGI* (*in uulgatis* [*Maur.*]); dum soluit *om. E.* 19 quibus nescio *E.* quasi *om. C.* sperabuntur *D.* et]ut *I.*

26. *How all three ‘officia’ — ‘docere’, ‘delectare’, and ‘flectere’ — are the object of each style individually.*

1. **illa itaque tria . . . uersatur:** in chapter 12, Augustine discussed the three *officia oratoris;* in chapter 17, he showed their relation to the three styles, *i.e.* how they give rise to the plain, the middle, and the grand styles respectively (is erit igitur eloquens, etc.), *docere* being the end of the plain style, *delectare*, of the middle, *flectere*, of the grand. But viewing the styles in a broader way, *viz.* as all being the vehicles of persuasion, and as all having, in reality, this one end, namely, to persuade, the conclusion is here drawn that each style while aiming particularly at its own special *officium*, must necessarily include the other *officia* also, in order to reach the general end, *persuadere.*—Augustine thus logically proves how the individuality of each style merges into a unity, perfect in its interlocked relation of part to whole, and part to part.

8. **nolumus . . . audiri:** the plain style aims at *docere*, but without tedium, hence it includes also *delectare.*

10. **quid . . . ualde:** the plain style aims to teach, but when scriptural proofs are adduced, it aims to teach so as to persuade, hence it involves *docere* and *flectere.*

11. **nisi ut,** used with a negativ (expressed or implied) in the mai clause to produce an affirmative, belongs to Silver and Late Latin: cf St.-Schm. 761; K.-Steg. II, 2, 417.

13. **quid . . . detineat:** a narration belongs to the plain style, but i exhibits this style in its most attractive form, hence it belongs both t necessity and to charm, involvin

26, 56. And so those three points which we named above as ends to be striven for by everyone who desires to speak with wisdom and with eloquence, namely, to make one's words understood, enjoyed, and persuasive, are not to be so taken as to be applied only respectively to the three styles of speaking: being understood, to the subdued style; being enjoyed, to the moderate style; and being persuasive to the grand style; but rather in such a way that the orator ever aims at all three, and employs them all, in so far as it is possible, even when he is concerned with each one of them separately. For it is not our desire that even what we say in the subdued style be tiresome, but through this style we wish not only to make ourselves understood, but even enjoyed. And why do we enforce what we have to say in teaching, by quotations from Holy Scripture, but to make ourselves persuasive, that is, to make our audience believe us, with the assistance of Him to whom it is said, *Thy testimonies are become exceedingly credible?* What too does he desire except to be believed, who tells a story to an audience even though in the subdued style? But who would wish to give one his attention unless the latter could hold his listener by some charm of style? For who does not know that one who is not understood cannot make himself either pleasing or persuasive? For as to this subdued style, many times when it unravels very difficult questions, and proves them by an unexpected explanation, when it unearths and displays the most penetrating observations from obscure caverns, as it were, whence they were not expected, when it

docere and *delectare* (docere necessitatis est, delectare suauitatis).

15. **nam si . . . audiri:** the conclusion is that since *docere* is of necessity, *suauitas* (through *delectare*) and the consequent *uictoria* (through *flectere*)—*i. e.* persuasion accomplished—are impossible without *docere.*

16. **plerumque . . . dictio ipsa submissa:** the plain style, even of the *argumentative* type, when it is accompanied by a natural grace (*decus naturale*), and a rhythm of cadences (*numerositas clausularum*), inherent in the subject itself, often accomplishes, because of its unadorned simplicity and its evident strength and truth, all three ends, *docere, delectare,* and *flectere,* just as well as does the *narrative* plain style. The conclusion is that the plain style is *naturally* apt to the accomplishment of the three *officia.*

17. **dum soluit . . . demonstrat:** note the terms expressive of strict dialectic, the second aspect of the plain style, as narration is considered the first.

18. **manifestatione:** a Late formation in *-io:* cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

dum sententias . . . ostendit: cf. Orat. 24, 79: acutae crebraeque sententiae ponentur et nescio unde ex abdito erutae.

tendit; dum aduersarii conuincit errorem et docet falsum esse quod ab illo dici uidebatur inuictum; maxime quando adest ei quoddam decus non appetitum sed quodammodo naturale, et nonnulla, non iactanticula, sed quasi necessaria, atque, ut ita dicam, ipsis rebus extorta numerositas clausularum, tantas acclamationes excitat, ut uix intellegatur esse submissa. non enim quia neque incedit ornata neque armata, sed tamquam nuda congreditur, ideo non aduersarium neruis lacertisque collidit, et obsistentem subruit ac destruit membris fortissimis falsitatem. unde autem crebro et multum acclamatur ita dicentibus, nisi quia ueritas sic demonstrata, sic defensa, sic inuicta delectat? et in hoc igitur genere submisso iste noster doctor et dictor id agere debet, ut non solum intellegenter, uerum etiam libenter et obedienter audiatur.

57. Illa quoque eloquentia generis temperati apud eloquentem ecclesiasticum, nec inornata relinquitur, nec indecenter ornatur, nec solum hoc appetit ut delectet, quod solum apud alios profitetur, uerum etiam in iis quae laudat siue uituperat, istis appetendis uel firmius tenendis, illis autem deuitandis uel respuendis, uult utique

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2 ei]eius *DFG*. 3 decus quoddam *E*. naturalem *D*. et quod *CEG*; et quando *H*; et]quod *I*. ulla *E*. 4 iactanticida *C*; iactanti uincula *EI*. atque] et *CG*. 5 exorta *AE* (*MSS plures* [*Maur.*]). 6 esse *om. H*. 8 ac]sed *B*. 10 ita]ista *E*. sic (demonstrata) *om. E*. 15 inornata]in ornamenta *E*. indecenter]decenter *D*. 17 iis]his *ABCDFGHI*; hiis *E*. 18 uel firmius tenendis *om. G*.

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3. **decus non appetitum:** figures resident in the matter itself.

nonnulla . . . numerositas: cf. Reynold's (65) characterization of the cadences of De Ciu. Dei: "They are constantly in evidence, but they are rather the natural turns of a style that is vigorous and orderly, than the labored devices of a meticulous artificer."

5. **tantas acclamatones excitat:** Augustine's sermons bear witness to to the applause which he himself called forth: cf. Tract. III in Euang. Ioan. XXI: fratres mei, unde clamatis, unde exsultatis, unde amatis, nisi quia ibi est scintilla huius charitatis? Tract. VI in Epist. Ioan. VII: rogasti, clamasti, ter clamasti, etc. Serm. 151, 8: unde omnes acclamastis, nisi quia omnes agnouistis? Almost any of the sermons could be taken to illustrate what he claims, here, in theory for the plain style. Sermon 288, 1, for instance, delivered on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, illustrates well strength of thought, accompanied by an ever present natural grace of expression and rhythm of clausulae: Ioannes ergo praeco Domini missus ante illum, sed factus per illum, *omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* missus homo ante hominem Deum, agnoscens Dominum suum, annuntians Creatorem suum; iam in terra praesentem mente discernens, digito ostendens. ipsius enim uerba sunt ostendentis Dominum et testimonium perhibentis, *ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi.*

8. **neruis lacertisque:** cf. Aug. De Dial. 7: et oratorem, si ueritatem persuadere uult, dialecticis quasi

proves an opponent's error, and shows that to be false which seemed to have been stated as unassailable by him, especially if a certain grace accompanies it, not aimed at, but, in a certain measure natural, and some use of rhythm in clausulae, not obtrusive, but, as it were, necessary, and, so to speak, drawn out of the subject itself, it excites such applause that one would scarcely believe it to be the subdued style. For from the very fact that it does not come forth adorned and armed, but stalks out stripped bare, as it were, for that very reason it does not fail to crush its opponent by its very sinew and muscle, and to overwhelm and destroy the resistance of falsehood by its own strong arm. But whence comes it that such speakers are so frequently and greatly applauded except that truth thus set forth, thus defended, thus rendered unassailable, gives pleasure? And, therefore, in this subdued style, that teacher and speaker of ours ought to strive not only to make his discourse understood, but also to make it enjoyable and persuasive.

57. The eloquence of the moderate type, too, in the case of the ecclesiastical orator is not left unadorned, and yet it is not unbecomingly adorned, nor does it only aim at giving pleasure, the sole end that it professes in the hands of others, but in holding up those things which it praises or censures, on the one hand as matters worthy of being sought for and firmly maintained, on the other, as deserving to be avoided and rejected, it also certainly aims at

neruis atque ossibus esse roborandum.

collidit: rare, mostly Silver and Late; most frequent in Quint.: cf. T. L. L. III, 1602, 1-57.

destruit: *destruere=infringere*, is mostly Silver and Late: cf. T. L. L. V, 774, 14-52.

10. **nisi quia** = 'except that', occurs in Plautus, rarely in Class. Latin, but frequently in Late Latin, especially in Eccl. writers, due to the influence of the Old Version and Vulgate. *Nisi quod* is a more literary form, though it differs also from *nisi quia* by its more restrictive meaning of 'apart from the fact that'. *Nisi quod* is the regular usage in Cic., Sall., Liv., Tac.: cf. St.-Schm. 727.

14. **illa . . . ornatur**: the temperate style calls for ornament, but ornament in moderation. Note how A., in his final summary of the styles, repeats the points he has made above as essentials. *Moderation* in the use of the florid style was insisted on in chapter 14, where the excess of the Sophists was decried. Consideration so far is only of *delectare* in the middle style.

15. **indecenter**: Poetic and Silver.

16. **nec solum . . . audiri**: here the middle style is shown to have not only *delectare* as aim, but also the purpose of being an aid to *flectere.* This second point was the matter of discussion of Chapter 25. The middle style, in Augustine's theory, is lawfully used only as a supplement to *docere* or *flectere.*

17. **siue** = *aut:* cf. 18, 35.

obedienter audiri. si autem non auditur intellegenter, nec libenter potest. proinde illa tria, ut intellegant qui audiunt, ut delectentur, ut obediant, etiam in hoc genere agendum est, ubi tenet delectatio principatum.

58. Iam uero ubi mouere et flectere grandi genere opus est auditorem—quod tunc est opus, quando et ueraciter dici et suauiter confitetur, et tamen non uult facere quod dicitur—dicendum est procul dubio granditer. sed quis mouetur, si nescit quod dicitur? aut quis tenetur ut audiat, si non delectatur? unde et in isto genere, ubi ad obedientiam cor duram dictionis granditate flectendum est, nisi et intellegenter et libenter qui dicit audiatur, non potest obedienter audiri.

27, 59. Habet autem ut obedienter audiatur, quantacumque granditate dictionis maius pondus uita dicentis. nam qui sapienter et eloquenter dicit, uiuit autem nequiter, erudit quidem multos dis-

1 audiatur *F*. nec]uel *A*. 2 tria illa *A*. 6 opus est *AI*. et (ueraciter) *om. D*. dicit *CE*. suauiter dicit *E*. 8 sed]uel *G*; si *I*. 9 et *om. A*. in *om. C*. ipso *E*. 10 ubi]nisi *E*. cur *E*. granditate dictionis *E*. 11 et (intellegenter) *om. E*. quae *B*. 13 ut]et *F*. audiamus *BDEI*; audiamur *CG* (audiri *supra*) *F*. quantumcumque *H*. 14 dicentis]dicendis *D*. 15 autem uiuit *A*. quidem]autem *B*.

1. **si . . . potest:** since *docere* is of necessity, it too must be aimed at by the middle style, along with *delectare* and *flectere*. This point is rendered more emphatic by the fact that it has just been concluded in regard to the plain style.

nec = *non*, as in Early and Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 640.

2. **proinde . . . principatum:** a restatement for clearness and emphasis, just as in the preceding paragraph.

illa tria . . . agendum est: the impersonal gerundive with an object in the accusative belongs especially to Early Latin, appearing only rarely in the classical period (though frequently in Varro), and coming into common use in the later jurists: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 743-45; St.-Schm. 596.

5. **iam . . . granditer:** *flectere*, *i. e.* persuasion apt to move the will to action, is the proper object of the grand style.

6. **ueraciter:** found only in Late Latin, though Priscian claims that Plautus used it.

8. **procul dubio:** cited for Liv. 39, 40, 10; Plin. Nat. 9, 184; Suet., Quint., and Late writers: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

sed quis . . . delectatur: Augustine, at this third repetition, does not have to prove that *docere necessitatis est, delectare suauitatis;* he can link the two together, and express them in mere question form, which has weight because of the logical sequence of the thoughts.

9. **unde et . . . audiri:** a final summarizing sentence. This chapter is a good example of Augustine's admirable power as a teacher and a dialectician. Every link in his chain of reasoning is perfectly welded and connected with what precedes and with what follows, so that the conclusion is accepted by the reader as a simple matter of course. Such paragraphs represent Augustine's power of expressing clearly, simply, and succinctly the relation of part to part, of his subject, and by linking-summaries, the connection between part to whole. Such treatment is only possible to a mind at once lucid and

being persuasive. But if it is not understood, neither can it give pleasure. And so all three ends, viz., that the audience should understand, be pleased, and be persuaded, must be striven for even in this one style, where giving pleasure holds first place.

58. But when it is necessary to move and convince a listener by the grand style—as it is when one's opponent grants the truth and attractiveness of what is said, but is unwilling to act upon it—one must without doubt express himself *grandly.* But who is moved if he does not understand what is said, or whose attention is held if he is not pleased? Wherefore, in this style also, when an obdurate heart has to be bent by the grand manner of speech, unless the speaker makes himself both understood and enjoyed, he cannot make himself persuasive.

27, 59. But the life of the speaker has greater force to make him persuasive than the grandeur of his eloquence, however great that may be. For the man who speaks wisely and eloquently, but lives evilly, instructs indeed many who are eager to learn. though *he is*

penetrating, and as simple as profound.

27. *A good life is the orator's best asset.*

13. **habet . . . dicentis:** this is also the teaching of pagan rhetoricians: cf. Arist. Rhet. 1, 2, 1356 a: *τοῖς γὰρ ἐπιεικέσι πιστεύομεν μᾶλλον καὶ θᾶττον.* *Ibid.* 2, 1, 1377 b: *ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὁρᾶν, ὅπως ἀποδεικτικὸς ἔσται καὶ πιστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὑτὸν ποιόν τινα.* *Ibid.* 2, 1, 1378 a: *τοῦ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς εἶναι πιστοὺς τοὺς λέγοντας τρία ἐστὶ τὰ αἴτια· τοσαῦτα γάρ ἐστι δι' ἃ πιστεύομεν ἔξω τῶν ἀποδείξεων. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα φρόνησις καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ εὔνοια.* De Orat. 2, 43, 182: ualet igitur multum ad uincendum probari mores et instituta (et facta et uitam) eorum, qui agent causas, et eorum pro quibus; et item improbari aduersariorum animosque eorum, apud quos agetur, conciliari quam maxime ad beneuolentiam quom erga oratorem tum erga illum, pro quo dicet orator. conciliantur autem animi dignitate hominis rebus gestis existimatione uitae; quae facilius ornari possunt, si modo sunt, quam fingi, si nulla sunt. Quint. 12, 1, 1: sit ergo nobis orator, quem constituimus, is qui a M. Catone finitur, *uir bonus dicendi peritus;* uerum, id quod et ille posuit prius, et ipsa natura potius ac maius est, utique uir bonus. See also De Orat. 2, 20, 85; *ibid.* 3, 14, 5.

14. **nam . . . studiosus:** the classical student may be struck by the fact that here Augustine's views seem less strict, and more compromising than Quintilian's. Cf. Quint. 12, 1, 2-3: mutos enim nasci et egere omni ratione satius fuisset, quam prouidentiae munera in mutuam perniciem conuertere. . . neque enim tantum id dico, eum qui sit orator, uirum bonum esse oportere, sed ne futurum quidem oratorem nisi uirum bonum. In reality, Quintilian and Augustine deal with different circumstances, in their respective discussions. Quintilian has to do with the legal orator whose ideals are not set for him, but who is guided wholly by the case in hand, and the attitude which he himself brings to bear upon it. Such a one when evil minded, Quintilian can

Ecclus. 37, 21 cendi studiosos, quamuis *animae suae sit inutilis,* sicut scriptum
Philipp. 1, 18. est. unde ait apostolus, *siue occasione, siue ueritate, Christus annuntietur.* Christus autem ueritas est, et tamen etiam non ueritate
annuntiari ueritas potest, id est, ut prauo et fallaci corde, quae
recta et uera sunt, praedicentur. sic quippe annuntiatur Iesus
Christus ab eis qui sua quaerunt, non quae Iesu Christi. sed quoniam boni fideles non quemlibet hominum, sed ipsum Dominum
Matt. 23, 3 obedienter audiunt, qui ait, *quae dicunt, facite, quae autem faciunt, facere nolite; dicunt enim, et non faciunt,* ideo audiuntur
utiliter, qui etiam utiliter non agunt. sua enim quaerere student,
sed sua docere non audent, de loco scilicet superiore sedis ecclesiasticae, quam sana doctrina constituit. propter quod ipse Dominus
priusquam de talibus, quod commemoraui, diceret, praemisit, *super*
Matt. 23, 2 *cathedram Moysi sederunt.* illa ergo cathedra, non eorum sed
Moysi, cogebat eos bona dicere, etiam non bona facientes. agebant
ergo sua in uita sua; docere autem sua, cathedra illos non permittebat aliena.

60. Multis itaque prosunt dicendo quae non faciunt, sed longe pluribus prodessent faciendo quae dicunt. abundant enim qui malae uitae suae defensionem ex ipsis praepositis et doctoribus quae-

1 studiosus *G.* 2 scriptum est scribae et pharisaei in cathedra Moysi sederunt quae dicunt facite, quae autem faciunt facere nolite dicunt enim et non faciunt *CEFGHI* (*editi; abest ab omnibus MSS* [*Maur.*]). unde ait apostolus]unde apostolus ait *A*; unde et apostolus ait *CH*; unde ait et apostolus *G Maur.*; unde et ait apostolus *B.* 3 autem]enim *E.* tamen etiam] tamen et *E.* 4 potest *om. D.* prauo et fallaci corde]a prauo et a fallaci corde *E.* 5 id est . . . uera sunt *om. D.* quae recta et uera sunt]quae recte uera sunt *A*; quae recta sunt et uera *I.* 6 Christi Iesu *A.* 7 Dominum *om. E.* 8 obedienter Deum *E.* 10 etiam qui *E.* utiliter (non) *om. E.* 12 instituit *A.* 13 super *om. ABCDFGI.* 14 sedent *MSS; non tamen Maur. Ver.An. Vulg.* ergo]uero *E.* illorum *D.* 16 non eorum . . . cathedra *om. I.* illos *om. C.* 18 multi *I.* 20 quaerunt *C.*

not but consider a menace to the public. Augustine realizes that the ecclesiastical orator, dealing as he does with the Word of God, possesses an instrument which will effect its end, even though the speaker himself is not exemplary of life. The Christian in his possession of Truth can meet and combat error in a way of which the pagan is wholly incapable. Moreover, Quintilian in his discussion is expressing his ideal of a *perfect* orator; Augustine, speaking from a more practical standpoint, explains the ideal, *i. e.* eloquence coupled with nobility of character, but he also has to recognize the truth, *viz.* that Holy Scripture, explained eloquently, even without a corresponding integrity in the speaker, is necessarily effective, since it is the Word of God.

4. **annuntiari:** *annuntio*=‘preach’, is mostly Late and Eccl.; here, an echo of the preceding Scriptural verse.

ut . . . praedicentur: *ut,* temporal, with the subjunctive in an iterative clause, at first mostly with the imperfect, then with the present, perfect, and pluperfect, appears to have belonged to the Early colloquial language. It occurs frequently in the Late period, after *ut* and *quod* had gained such extended usage. Cf. Enn. Sat. 22 ap. Gell. 2, 29, 4 (where the wording however is Gellius’): nidulantur in segetibus id ferme temporis

unprofitable to his own soul, as it is written. And so the Apostle says: *Whether by occasion, or by truth, Christ be preached.* Now Christ is truth and still, truth can be preached, even though not with truth, that is when by a mean and deceiving heart righteousness and truth are preached. Thus, indeed, Jesus Christ is preached by those who seek their own ends, not those of Jesus Christ. But since good Christians obey not any man whatsoever, but the Lord Himself, who says: *Whatsoever they say to you, do: but according to their works, do you not, for they say and do not,* therefore are they heard with profit, even though they themselves do not lead profitable lives. For they are zealous in seeking their own ends, but they dare not teach their own from the high place, forsooth, of ecclesiastical authority, which sound doctrine has established. For this reason the Lord Himself, before saying what I have just quoted about men of this kind, declared: *They have sitten on the chair of Moses.* That chair, therefore, which was not theirs but Moses', forced them to say what was good, even though they were not doing what was good. And so they pursued their own ends in their lives, but to teach their own, that, the chair which belonged to another did not allow them to do.

60. And so they do good to many by preaching even what they do not live up to; but far more would they do good to by practising what they preached. For there are many who seek to defend their own evil lives by their very superiors and teachers answering in their hearts, or even if they go so far, saying with their

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ut appetat messis: cf. St.-Schm. 758-59; Salonius 318-19; McGuire 128.

5. **praedicentur:** *praedico* = 'preach', is Eccl. So used also in 27, 59; 27, 60; 29, 62.

13. **praemisit** = 'said first': cf. Suet. Calig. 58: ceruicem gladio caesim grauiter percussit, praemissa uoce: 'hoc age'. Tac. Ann. 12, 6: postquam haec fauorabili oratione praemisit. Then Late Latin. See K.-Schm. s. v.

16. **docere . . . permittebat:** *permittere* with the accusative and infinitive occurs in Early Latin, in Livy and Tacitus, and in Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 580.

18. **multis . . . dicunt:** cf. Quint. 12, 1, 29: quae certe melius persuadebit aliis, qui prius persuaserit sibi.

longe pluribus: *longe* in place of *multo,* with a comparative is Poetic, Silver, and Late: cf. St.-Schm. 463; K.-Schm. s. v.; Lane 247; Arts 45.

19. **abundant . . . facis:** Quintilian likewise acknowledges that a bad life must betray itself in a speaker: cf. 12, 1, 29: prodit enim se, quamlibet custodiantur, simulatio: nec unquam tanta fuerit loquendi facultas, ut non titubet atque haereat, quotiens ab animo uerba dissentiunt. In this moral influence Augustine sees the real danger of a preacher whose life is not in conformity with his words.

rant, respondentes corde suo, aut etiam si ad hoc erumpunt, ore
suo, atque dicentes: "quod mihi praecipis, cur ipse non facis?" ita
fit ut eum non obedienter audiant, qui se ipse non audit, et Dei
uerbum quod eis praedicatur, simul cum ipso praedicatore contemnant.
denique apostolus scribens ad Timotheum, cum dixisset,
1 Tim. 4, 12 *nemo adolescentiam tuam contemnat,* subiecit unde non contemneretur,
atque ait, *sed forma esto fidelium in sermone, in conuersatione,
in dilectione, in fide, in castitate.*

28, 61. Talis doctor ut obedienter audiatur, non impudenter non
solum submisse ac temperate, uerum etiam granditer dicit, quia
non contemptibiliter uiuit. sic namque eligit bonam uitam, ut
2 Cor. 8, 21 etiam bonam non neglegat famam, sed prouideat bona coram Deo
et hominibus, quantum potest, illum timendo, his consulendo. in
ipso etiam sermone malit rebus placere quam uerbis, nec aestimet
dici melius, nisi quod dicitur uerius, nec doctor uerbis seruiat, sed
1 Cor. 1, 17 uerba doctori. hoc est enim quod apostolus ait: *non in sapientia
uerbi, ne euacuetur crux Christi.* ad hoc ualet etiam quod ait ad
2 Tim. 2, 14 Timotheum: *noli uerbis contendere, ad nihil enim utile est, nisi
ad subuersionem audientium.* neque enim hoc ideo dictum est, ut
aduersariis oppugnantibus ueritatem, nihil nos pro ueritate dicamus.
et ubi erit quod cum ostenderet qualis esse episcopus debeat,
Tit. 1, 9 ait inter caetera: *ut potens sit in doctrina sana et contradicentes*

1 cordi *BF.* erumpant *EI.* 3 obedienter non *AH.* 5 cum]enim *H.* 7 atque]et *I.* fidelibus *B Ver.An.* 8 delectatione *B.* 10 dicit quia non contemptibiliter dicit *DF.* 11 elegit *F.* 12 bona]uitam bonam *B.* 13 illum]illud *A.* hiis *E.* 14 alit *D.* ne *BDH.* 16 ait apostolus *DFGH.* 17 etiam *om. E.* 18 contendere *om. D.* 19 non *E.* est *om. BD.* ut *om. I.* 20 repugnantibus *B*; pugnantibus *F*; impugnantibus *H.* nos *om. A.* 21 ostendit *D.* episcopus esse *E.*

2. **ita fit . . . contemnant:** cf. the pagan's realization of a similar loss accruing, in his case, to eloquence: Quint. 12, 1, 32: facultas dicendi, si in malos incidit, et ipsa iudicanda est malum. The harm done by the Christian is incomparably greater, since it involves contempt for the Word of God.

4. **praedicatore** = 'a preacher': Eccl. Used also in 29, 62.

6. **unde** = *quomodo:* though this idiom is used by Terence and Ovid (cf. Georges s. v.), it becomes common only in Late Latin. Colbert (36) notes its frequent use in De Ciu. Dei. Cf. St.-Schm. 492; Salonius 212.

28. *How truth should dominate in oratory: Truth in matter, truth in treatment* (τὸ πρέπον), *truth in life.*

9. **impudenter . . . contemptibiliter:** note how the force and flavor of this passage lies in these two adverbs.

11. **contemptibiliter:** very rare; cited only for Schol. Hor. 26, 87, and Pallad. hist. mon. II, 13, besides the present passage: cf. T. L. L. IV, 654, 44-50.

sic namque, etc.: sincerity should be dominant in the Christian orator, and a singleness of purpose that aims first at pleasing God, then, as a necessary consequence, at pleasing men. A good reputation natur-

lips, "What you tell me to do, why do you not do yourself?" And so it comes about that they do not follow one who does not follow his own preaching, and they contemn the word of God which is preached to them, along with the preacher himself. Accordingly, the Apostle, in writing to Timothy, after saying, *Let no man despise thy youth,* adds how he would avoid being despised, saying, *Be thou an example of the faithful in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in chastity.*

28, 61. Such a teacher, to render himself persuasive, may without presumption express himself not only in the subdued and in the moderate style, but also in the grand style, because his life is beyond reproach. For truly he so chooses to live a good life as not indeed to neglect a good reputation, but especially so as to forecast what is good before God and man, in as far as possible, by fearing God and by caring for man. Even in his very speech he should prefer to please through his matter rather than through his words, and he should consider that a thing is not well said unless it be truthfully said; nor should the teacher serve words, but words, the teacher. For this is what the Apostle says: *Not in wisdom of speech lest the cross of Christ be made void.* Of the same purport, too, is what he says to Timothy: *Contend not in words, for it is to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers.* This, however, is not said to the end that we should say nothing in defense of truth whenever opponents attack it. And where will be what, among other things, he said when he was showing of what character a bishop ought to be: *That he may be able in sound doctrine,*

ally follows, but is not primarily sought for. Augustine, of course, is guarding his disciples against the pitfalls of Sophistic. This, his next words make clear.

12. **sed prouideat . . . hominibus:** cf. Vulg. 2 Cor. 8, 21: prouidemus enim bona non solum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus; also, Rom. 12, 17.

13. **in ipso . . . doctori:** A. crystallizes in a brief sentence what he has tried to inculcate throughout the entire treatise. With the Christian orator, matter is of first importance, style is secondary; truth is the grand object, ornament must be subservient to it. As shown above in chapter 5, in quotations from Cicero, this was recognized and practised by the best speakers of classical times, but the prevalent formalism of the third and fourth centuries was, in A.'s time, a factor that had to be combatted, and this is done here by a trenchant restatement of old ideals.

17. **ad hoc ualet:** *ualere* = *significare,* also in Class. Latin, but it usually takes *idem,* not *ad hoc:* cf. De Fin. 2, 4: quaerimus uerbum latinum par graeco, et quod idem ualeat; Quint. 10, 1, 13: et intellego et sentio et uideo saepe idem ualent quod scio.

redarguere? uerbis enim contendere, est non curare quomodo error ueritate uincatur, sed quomodo tua dictio dictioni praeferatur alterius. porro qui non uerbis contendit, siue submisse, siue temperate, siue granditer dicat, id agit uerbis ut ueritas pateat, ueritas placeat, ueritas moueat; quoniam nec ipsa, quae praecepti finis et plenitudo
1 Tim. 1, 5 legis est charitas, ullo modo recta esse potest, si ea quae diliguntur,
Rom. 13, 10 non uera sed falsa sunt. sicut autem cuius pulchrum corpus et deformis est animus, magis dolendus est quam si deforme haberet et corpus, ita qui eloquenter ea quae falsa sunt dicunt, magis miserandi quam si talia deformiter dicerent. quid est ergo non solum eloquenter, uerum etiam sapienter dicere, nisi uerba in submisso genere sufficientia, in temperato splendentia, in grandi uehementia, ueris tamen rebus, quas audiri oportet, adhibere? sed qui utrumque

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1 redarguere]se arguere *A.* 5 praecepit *A.* 6 nullo *E.* esse recta *BEDH.* potest *om. D.* diliguntur]dicuntur *C.* 7 corpus pulchrum *AE.* 8 colendus *I.* si]se *H.* 9 et *om. B.* miserandi sunt *C Maur.* 13 quos *G.* audire *CF.*

1. **uerbis . . . alterius:** a definition of Sophistic practice: cf. Orat. 19, 65: sed hoc differunt quod, cum sit his propositum non perturbare animos, sed placare potius nec tam persuadere quam delectare, et apertius id faciunt quam nos et crebrius, concinnas magis sententias exquirunt quam probabiles.

3. **porro . . . moueat:** this is A.'s culminating statement in regard to the three styles and the three *officia.* Having carefully explained their nature, relation, and effects, their striking individuality, and their yet grander unity, he here shows that in the highest oratory, they find their most complete *one-ness* in the singleness of their matter, *i. e.* in *ueritas.*

5. **finis . . . charitas:** cf. 1 Tim. 1, 5: finis autem praecepti est caritas; Rom. 13, 10: plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio.

plenitudo, thus used figuratively, belongs to Late Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

7. **sicut . . . dicerent:** this expresses, in its proper connection with *ueritas* as the dominating factor of eloquence, the contrary practice of the Sophists, of clothing falsehood in fine language. See chapter 14 for Augustine's full treatment of this point.

10. **quid est . . . adhibere:** A. again looks back to his earlier discussion (cf. chapter 5), and connects with the styles and their common subject-matter, *ueritas,* the eloquence and wisdom there differentiated and explained. He now states that the orator who would speak *eloquently* must use the styles, but that if he would also speak *with wisdom* he must (1) make the subject of these, *truth,* and (2) apply the styles to this subject in such a way as to be adequate in the plain style, attractive in the temperate, and moving in the grand. This second point is nothing else than the application of the old classical ideal of *τὸ πρέπον, decorum,* 'fittingness'. It is characteristic of Augustine thus to lead up to the orator's supreme quality, which though hinted at, wherever it was fitting to do so, throughout the treatise, is here given its proper importance. Because of the unanimous agreement of classical authors as to the dominating place of *τὸ πρέπον* in eloquence, it is interesting to compare the following sum-

also to convince the gainsayers? For to contend in words is not to care how error may be overcome by truth, but how your style may be preferred to another's. However, the man who does not contend in words, whether he expresses himself in the subdued, or in the moderate, or in the grand style, has this aim in speaking, that truth be made clear, that truth be made pleasing, that truth be made convincing; for not even love itself, which is the end of the commandment and the fulfilling of the law, can in any way be right if the objects of love are not true but false. For as one whose body is comely, but whose heart is depraved is more to be pitied than if his body also were deformed, so those who express falsehood with eloquence are more to be deplored than if they should express the same in an unseemly way. And so what is it to speak not only with eloquence but also with wisdom, except to employ words which are adequate, in the subdued style; striking, in the temperate style; and strong, in the grand style—in regard to truth, of course, which

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mary of their opinions: Arist. Rhet. 3, 2, 1404 b: *σημεῖον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἐὰν μὴ δηλοῖ, οὐ ποιήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον· καὶ μήτε ταπεινὴν μήτε ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ πρέπουσαν· ἡ γὰρ ποιητικὴ ἴσως οὐ ταπεινή, ἀλλ' οὐ πρέπουσα λόγῳ.* Orat. 21, 70 and 73: magni igitur iudicii, summae etiam facultatis esse debebit moderator ille et quasi temperator huius tripertitae uarietatis; nam et iudicabit quid cuique opus sit et poterit quocumque modo postulabit causa dicere. sed est eloquentiae sicut reliquarum rerum fundamentum sapientia. ut enim in uita sic in oratione nihil est difficilius quam quid deceat uidere. *πρέπον* appellant hoc Graeci, nos dicamus sane *decorum;* de quo praeclare et multa praecipiuntur et res est cogitatione dignissima; huius ignoratione non modo in uita sed saepissime et in poematis et in oratione peccatur. . . in omnibusque rebus uidendum est quatenus; etsi enim suus cuique modus est, tamen magis offendit nimium quam parum; in quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat qui non sentiret quid esset satis. magnus est locus hic, Brute, quod te non fugit, et magnum uolumen aliud desiderat; sed ad id quod agitur illud satis. cum hoc decere—quod semper usurpamus in omnibus dictis et factis, minimis et maximis—cum hoc, inquam, decere dicimus, illud non decere, et id usquequaque quantum sit appareat in alioque ponatur aliudque totum sit, utrum *decere* an *oportere* dicas; —oportere enim perfectionem declarat officii, quo et semper utendum est et omnibus, decere quasi aptum esse consentaneumque tempori et personae. Quint. 12, 10, 79-80: sed et copia habet modum, sine quo nihil nec laudabile nec salutare est, et nitor ille cultum uirilem et inuentio iudicium. sic erunt magna, non nimia; sublimia, non abrupta; fortia, non temeraria; seuera, non tristia; grauia, non tarda; laeta, non luxuriosa; iucunda, non dissoluta; grandia, non tumida. similis in ceteris ratio est ac tutissima fere per medium uia, quia utriusque ultimum uitium est.

12. sufficientia = 'adequate': Silver and Late :cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

splendentia: in transferred sense, Poetic and Late.

13. sed qui . . . insipienter: this was the conclusion of chapter 5.

non potest, dicat sapienter quod non dicit eloquenter, potius quam dicat eloquenter quod dicit insipienter. si autem ne hoc quidem potest, ita conuersetur, ut non solum sibi praemium comparet sed etiam praebeat aliis exemplum, et sit eius quasi copia dicendi forma uiuendi.

29, 62. Sunt sane quidam qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient, excogitare non possunt. quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriaeque commendent, atque ad populum proferant, si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. etiam sic enim, quod profecto utile est, multi praedicatores
1 Cor. 1, 10 ueritatis fiunt, nec multi magistri, si unius ueri magistri idipsum dicant omnes, et non sint in eis schismata. nec deterrendi sunt isti
Ier. 23, 30 uoce Ieremiae prophetae, per quem Deus arguit eos qui furantur uerba eius, unusquisque a proximo suo. qui enim furantur, alienum auferunt; uerbum autem Dei non est ab eis alienum qui obtemperant ei; potiusque ille dicit aliena, qui cum dicat bene, uiuit male. quaecumque enim bona dicit, eius excogitari uidentur ingenio, sed ab eius moribus aliena sunt. eos itaque dixit Deus furari uerba sua, qui boni uolunt uideri, loquendo quae Dei sunt, cum mali sint, faciendo quae sua sunt. nec ipsi dicunt bona quae dicunt, si diligenter attendas. quomodo enim dicunt uerbis, quod negant
Tit. 1, 16 factis? non enim frustra de talibus ait apostolus: *confitentur se nosse Deum, factis autem negant.* modo ergo quodam ipsi dicunt,

2 potius quam dicat eloquenter *om. F.* nec *A.* 3 non *om. A.* sibi]si *D.* praemium sibi *A.* 4 etiam]et *D.* exemplum aliis *A.* et]ut *AE.* eius]eis *EH.* 6 quidam]quippe *E.* 8 atque] eaque (atque *supra*) *B*; ea quae *D.* 9 gerant *E.* 10 etiam *om. E Maur.*; *del. B.* sic enim]si enim *B*; si *I.* profecto] ad profectum *F.* 11 ueritatis praedicatores *A.* multo *D.* si]sed (*sic. em.*) *B.* ipsum *D.* 12 perdicant *I.* 13 Deus]Dominus *A.* 14 eius]eorum *E.* 15 Dei *om. EI.* 16 ei *om. A*; eis *F.* -que]quae *F.* dicat bene dicit bona *D.* 17 quicumque *E.* excogitare *H*; excogitari eius *A.* uidetur *H.* 18 alieni *G.* 19 eloquendo *D.* 22 de talibus ait apostolus]quod ait apostolus de alibus *G.* confitentur enim *A.* 23 dicunt Deum *I.*

2. **si autem . . . uiuenda:** a spiritual point of view, showing how the Christian standard transcends the pagan. Cicero concedes that eloquence without wisdom is of small avail, but the idea that wisdom (particularly that, expressed by integrity of life) without eloquence can effect anything in oratory, is something quite beyond his conception.

3. **conuersetur** = 'lives', is cited in its absolute sense, for Seneca, and Late Latin.

4. **forma** = 'beauty', used of things, is mostly Late, though cited once for Cic.: cf. T. L. L. VI, 1073, 62-71.

29. *That it is permissible for one to memorize a sermon, not his own, and to deliver it.*

7. **quod si . . . faciunt:** this in no wise proves that Augustine himself was accustomed first to write his sermons and then to memorize them, nor that he in any way rejects extempore address either for himself or for others. On the contrary, as expressed above, in chapters 3, 4, 5, 10, Augustine inculcates the doctrine of adap-

it is fitting should be heard? But if a person cannot do both, let him speak with wisdom, even though he cannot with eloquence, rather than with eloquence without wisdom. But if even this is impossible, let him so conduct himself as not only to deserve a reward for himself, but also to offer an example to others; and in his case, let his manner of life be, as it were, a flowing speech.

29, 62. But there are, indeed, some men who can deliver a sermon well, but who cannot think out its matter. Now if they take what has been eloquently and wisely written by others, and commit it to memory, and deliver it before the people, if they assume this character, they do no wrong. For thus, as is certainly profitable, many become preachers of truth, though not many, teachers, if they all speak the same thing of one true teacher, and there are no schisms among them. Nor need they be frightened by the word of Jeremias the Prophet, through whom God rebukes those who steal His words, everyone from his neighbor. For those who steal take what belongs to another, but the word of God belongs to those who obey it; and that man rather speaks the words of another, who speaks well but lives badly. For whatever good sentiments he expresses seem to proceed from his own thought on them, but they do not belong to his way of living. And so God has said that those men steal His words who wish to appear good by speaking God's word, though they are evil in following a course of their own. And indeed it is not they themselves who speak the good that they speak, if you study the matter closely. For how can they express in words what they do not express in deeds? Truly not for nought does the Apostle say of such: *They profess that they know God: but in their*

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tation to one's matter and audience —a thing which is only perfectly attainable in speeches that are extemporaneous. What he says here in regard to memorizing a set speech is clearly by way of concession, for one of mean abilities. On the whole question of Augustine and extempore sermons, cf. Deferrari 97 ff.

8. **memoriae commendent:** for this *uerborum memoria*, see also chapter 10. Note the difference between it and the *rerum memoria*, mentioned in chapter 20.

11. **idipsum . . . schismata:** cf. Vulg. 1 Cor. 1, 10: obsecro autem uos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut idipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in uobis schismata.

12. **schismata** (σχίσματα) = *scissurae*, is Eccl. Latin. However, the Old Version uses *scissurae* in 1 Cor. 1, 10.

19. **loquendo . . . faicendo:** the ablative of the gerund in Classical Latin expresses means, rarely manner, and very rarely cause. The causal use is found here, and also below in: non ipsi dicunt uoluntate . . . negando, etc. Cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 751-53; St.-Schm. 599-600.

et rursus alio modo ipsi non dicunt, quoniam utrumque uerum est
quod ueritas ait. de talibus enim lequens, *quae dicunt* inquit *facite,*
Matt. 23, 3 *quae autem faciunt, facere nolite,* hoc est, "quod ex ore illorum
auditis, facite; quod in opere uidetis, facere nolite." *dicunt enim*
inquit *et non faciunt.* ergo quamuis non faciant, dicunt tamen.
Matt. 12, 34 sed alio loco tales arguens, *hypocritae* inquit *quomodo potestis bona*
loqui, cum sitis mali? ac per hoc et ea quae dicunt, quando bona
dicunt, non ipsi dicunt, uoluntate scilicet atque opere negando quod
dicunt. unde contingit ut homo disertus et malus, sermonem quo
ueritas praedicetur, dicendum ab alio non diserto sed bono, ipse
componat. quod cum fit, ipse a seipso tradit alienum, ille ab alieno
accipit suum. cum uero boni fideles bonis fidelibus hanc operam
commodant, utrique sua dicunt, quia et Deus ipsorum est, cuius
sunt illa quae dicunt, et ea sua faciunt, quae non ipsi componere
potuerunt, qui secundum illa composite uiuunt.

30, 63. Siue autem apud populum uel apud quoslibet iamiamque dic-
turus, siue quod apud populum dicendum uel ab eis qui uoluerint
Esther 14, 13 aut potuerint legendum est dictaturus, oret ut Deus congruum
sermonem daret in os eius. si enim regina orauit Esther, pro suae
gentis temporaria salute locutura apud regem, ut in os eius Deus
congruum sermonem daret, quanto magis orare debet, ut tale munus
accipiat, qui pro aeterna hominum salute in uerbo et doctrina la-
borat? illi uero qui ea dicturi sunt quae ab aliis acceperunt, et
antequam accipiant, orent pro eis a quibus accipiunt, ut eis detur
quod per eos accipere uolunt; et cum acceperint, orent ut bene et

1 non ipsi *CH Maur.* et rursus . . . dicunt *om. G.* quoniam]quod *E.* uerum]ueritas *A.* 2 ait ueritas *EI.* 3 nolite dicunt enim inquit et non faciunt *E.* 5 dicunt . . . non faciunt *om. E.* tamen dicunt *ACGH.* 6 quomodo]modo *D.* 8 quando bona dicunt *om. E.* 9 ut] quod *E.* quo]quod *D.* 10 dicendum ab alio]dicendo alii *A*; dicendum non ab alio *EI.* ipse]ipso *D.* 11 componat]contemnat *A.* quod cum fit ipse a seipso tradit]quod ipse cum fit a semetipso trahit *F.* ille autem *E.* 12 boni uiri *A.* 13 commendat *E.* suam *E.* 14 ipso *D.* 16 apud (populum)]ad *D.* iamiamque dicturus]iam quaedam dicturus aliquis *C*; iamque dicturus *A.* 18 oret *om. A.* 19 Hester orauit *A.* sua *D.* 20 temporali *EI*; sermone *add. E.* 21 quanto magis orare debet *om. I*; debet]debent *A.* 22 accipiant *A.* salutem *D.* uerbo et in uerbo *E.* laborant *A.* 23 ea dicturi]edicturi *D.* et *om. A.* 24 pro eis]pro ipsis *A.* 25 et (cum) *om. H.*

10. **dicendum . . . componat:** the predicate use of the gerundive in connection with an accusative object is restricted in classical Latin to a relatively small number of verbs. In Silver and Late Latin, however, we note an ever increasing number of verbs admitting of this construction: cf. St.-Schm. 595; K.-Steg. II, 1, 731.

12. **cum uero . . . uiuunt:** another evidence of that dependence on faith which distinguishes Christian from pagan oratory.

30. *Prayer should hold first place in the esteem of the Christian orator.*

18. **dictaturus:** *dictare* = 'dictate to a stenographer', often from the end of the Republic after the *notarii* had become so important an adjunct to men of letters. From this meaning of expressing oneself in written language by dictating, *dictare* in Sil-

works they deny Him. And so in a certain sense they speak, and again in another sense they do not, since both these verses are true, because Truth itself utters them. For, again, speaking of such as these, He says: *What they shall say to you, do; but according to their words, do ye not.* That is, "What from their lips you hear, that do, but what in their works you see, that do not do." *For they say,* he continues, *and do not.* And so though they *do* not, still they *say.* But in another place, rebuking such men, He says: *Hypocrites, how can you speak good things, whereas you are evil?* And from this it would seem that even what they say when they speak good things, they do not themselves say, since forsooth in will and in deed, they gainsay what they say. And so it may happen that an eloquent man, though bad, may himself compose a sermon in which truth is set forth to be delivered by another who, though not eloquent, is good. And when this is done, the former gives as from himself what belongs to another, while the latter receives from another what is really his own. But when good Christians render this service to good Christians, both speak what is their own, because God is theirs, and to Him belong the words which they speak; and they make these, too, their own, though they were not able to compose them, if they compose their lives in accordance with them.

30, 63. But whether a person is now making ready to speak before the people or before any other group whatever, or to compose something either to be delivered before the people or read by those who wish or can do so, he should pray God to put a fitting discourse upon his lips. For if Queen Esther prayed when she was about to address the king in regard to the temporal affairs of her people, that God might give her a well-ordered speech in her mouth, how much more ought he to pray to receive such a gift who labors in word and teaching for the eternal welfare of mankind? Those, too, who are to deliver what they receive from others, even before they receive it, ought to pray for those from whom they receive it, that what they wish to receive, may be given to them; and when

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er and Late Latin came also to ean, as here, simply 'to compose', ot necessarily by dictating: cf. T. L. V, 1009, 75—1012, 40.

Deus . . . os eius: an echo of sther 14, 13: tribue sermonem compositum in ore meo. A somewhat closer rendering is given on lines 20-21.

20. **temporaria** = 'that which is not eternal', 'transitory', is Eccl. Latin: cf. K.-Schm. s. v.

ipsi proferant, et illi ad quos proferunt sumant; et de prospero
exitu dictionis eidem gratias agant, a quo id se accepisse non dubi-
tant, ut qui gloriatur, in illo glorietur, in cuius manu sunt et nos
Sap. 7, 16 et sermones nostri.

31, 64. Longior euasit liber hic quam uolebam, quamque putaueram. sed legenti uel audienti, cui gratus est, longus non est; cui autem longus est, per partes eum legat, qui habere uult cognitum; quem uero cognitionis eius piget, de longitudine non queratur. ego tamen Deo nostro ago gratias, quod in his quattuor libris non qualis ego essem, cui multa desunt, sed qualis esse debeat, qui in doctrina sana, id est christiana, non solum sibi, sed aliis etiam laborare studet, quantulacumque potui facultate disserui.

1 ut bene et ipsi]ut ipsi et bene *E*. et illi]ut illi (*sic em.*) *B*. prospere *D*. 2 id se]ipsi *A*; se *om. E*. 5 -que *om. D*. 6 non erit *C*. 8 queretur *D*. 9 Domino *A*; Domino Iesu Christo *EI*. gratias ago *Maur.*; gratias ago Domino Iesu Christo *EI*. quod]quo *D*. eis *A*; hiis *E*. 11 id est christiana *om. E*. 12 etiam aliis *A Maur.* quantulamcumque *E*.

1. de . . . exitu: *de* with the ablative, to express cause, is particularly a colloquial usage, sometimes found in the poets, and of increasing frequency in Late Latin: cf. K.-Steg. II, 1, 498; St.-Schm. 526; T. L. L. VI, 611, 17.

31. *Conclusion.*

6. sed legenti . . . queratur: A. can never entirely rid himself of his training as a dialectician. Here, even in his words of apology for a long work, he is not able to refrain from getting the better of his reader by this clever turn of a dilemma, which is all the more characteristic of him by being expressed in the order of the figure of *climax:* **gratus est, . . . longus non est: longus est, . . . habere cognitum: cognitionis piget, . . . non queratur.**

7. per partes: *per* with the accusative to express manner is used oc-

they have received it, they should pray that they themselves may deliver it well, and that those to whom they speak may take it; and for the successful issue of their discourse, they should give thanks to Him from whom they cannot doubt but that they have received it, that he who glories may glory in Him in whose hand are both we and our words.

31, 64. This work has turned out longer than I had wished, and than I had planned. But if it is interesting to one who reads it or listens to it, it will not be long; if, however, anyone finds it long, he should read it in parts if he still wishes to become acquainted with it; on the other hand, one who is not interested in making its acquaintance should not complain of its length. But for my part, I give thanks to God that in these four books, I have treated with whatever little ability I have, not of such a one as I myself am, for I have many deficiencies, but of such a person as he should be who in sound teaching, that is in Christian teaching, strives to labor not only for himself, but also for others.

casionally by Plautus, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, but more frequently in Silver and Late Latin: cf. St.-Schm. 438; K.-Steg. II, 1, 557. The present phrase is cited for Colum. 1, 4, 5; Plin. Epist. 2, 5, 10; Dig. 12, 1, 13.

11. **doctrina sana . . . christiana:** Augustine ends on the note which he has tried to keep dominant throughout this book, viz., that the instruction aimed at by the Christian speaker is, unlike that prevalent in the schools of the Sophists, a thoroughly sound and wholly natural one. It is for this reason that passing over the popular rhetorical precepts of the fourth century, he returns to the sane theory of classical times. This, vivified by the Christian spirit, he puts forward as a new-old ideal.

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